Nicos Nicolaou

Electronic Performance Monitoring: The crossover between self-discipline and emotion management

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of PhD
University of Warwick Business School
Industrial Relations and Organisational Behaviour Department

16 March 2015

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

ACD	Automatic Distribution System
AET	Affective Events Theory
AMA	American Management Association
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CPM	Computer Performance Monitoring
CBPM	Computer-Based Performance Monitoring
CSR	Customer Service Representative
DP	Data Protection
EPM	Electronic Performance Monitoring
GHQ	General Health Questionnaire
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IT	Information Technology
JDI	Job Descriptive Index
JIT	Just in Time
MACL	Mood Adjective Checklist
MSQ	Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire
TQM	Total Quality Management

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Appendices

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation to all who have contributed their valuable time to responding to requests for information and feedback to allow me to complete this thesis.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Hari Tsoukas, Dr Martin Corbett and Professor Tina Kiefer, for their continuous support and guidance. Their help and expertise were valuable throughout the process of conducting this study.

I would also like to thank my family, who have supported me constantly, both financially and mentally. I would particularly like to thank my parents, Spyros and Rozalia for their economic support, as well as my wife Emily and sons Spyros and Ioannis for their patience and understanding over the past five years.

Furthermore, I would like to express my thanks to Dr Antoni Casasempere, Dr Daina Nicolaou and Mrs Maria Kalli, who have provided me with important research assistance, especially with regard to reviewing drafts and coding fieldwork data.

Special thanks go to all members of the company in which the fieldwork study was carried out. For confidentiality reasons, this company cannot be named; however, I would like to thank Mr Olympios Tomazou, Mrs Eleni Stylianou and Mrs Vayia Georgiou for help given throughout the data collection period.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all the staff of the WBS Doctoral Office for their administrative assistance. Their help from the first day of my studies regarding a number of organisational issues such as submission of assignments, sending of emails and answering enquiries has been very useful.

Declaration and Inclusion of Material from a Prior Thesis

This thesis is the personal work of Nicos Nicolaou. The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of PhD at the University of Warwick. The thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Abstract

This thesis studies the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management in an electronic performance monitoring (EPM) setting. The intersection between these two elements is explained in terms of six main themes: control, power and discipline; compliance, conformity and resistance; rationality, performance standards and corrective action; emotional labour and the management of emotions; society, responsibility and accountability; and subjectivity, internalisation and the self. These main themes emerged from interview data and are supported by the literature.

A qualitative methodology was adopted to support a social constructionist perspective. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data from a single case study organisation, and thematic coding was used for analysis.

EPM systems installed in the case study call centre are used to control agents' behaviour, embedding in their minds the importance of controlling and disciplining their own behaviour. They are forced by EPM to manage their own emotions and conform to the rules of the system through self-discipline. Nevertheless, some find it difficult constantly to suppress their emotions and may exhibit resistance.

There is a preoccupation with self-correction. Agents internalise the call centre's norms of behavior. The technological environment largely determines the way in which they manage their emotions. They fake their emotions when interacting with callers, supervisors and colleagues, and exercise self-discipline and emotion management to satisfy personal and group expectations. They incorporate the cultural values, motives and beliefs of the EPM context through learning, socialisation and identification.

This thesis offers significant theoretical contributions which revolve around the relationship between surveillance-induced self-discipline and emotional labour over time. It aims to alert academics and business people to the problems of emotional labour and to prompt them to make changes to the design, implementation and use of EPM.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the last 20 years, surveillance and electronic performance monitoring (EPM) have become increasingly important topics of both public and academic debate. Considerable time, money and effort have been invested in implementing EPM by companies around the world. In 2001, the American Management Association (AMA) revealed that almost 80 per cent of US firms electronically monitor employees in some way, which "represents an increase of over 40 per cent since the early 1990s" (Carroll, 2007:3).

1.1 Overview of EPM

1.1.1 Definition of EPM

Many people confuse the terms "monitoring" and "surveillance". The literature distinguishes the two terms conceptually (Botan and Vorvoreanu, 2005:125). Whilst the concepts sound similar, there are distinct differences with regard to how they are conceptualised. Organisational sociologists and occupational psychologists have investigated the effects of monitoring and surveillance, but tend to describe the phenomena in different ways. Ball (2010:88) claims that, while monitoring and surveillance denote similar practices and both may have positive and negative consequences, monitoring and surveillance have different connotations for their audiences.

"Surveillance" is rooted in the French word "surveiller", meaning "to watch" (Lyon, 2007:13), and denotes keeping watch over someone or something (Petersen, 2007:10). It generally involves watching and controlling people. One person watches others in order to check for appropriate or abnormal behaviour (Lyon, 2007:16). Surveillance refers to a

relationship between an authority and those whose behaviour it seeks to control. For many industrial and organisational sociologists, surveillance is concerned with power, politics, resistance and meaning-making (Ball, 2001:88).

"Monitoring", on the other hand, is more closely associated with modern information technologies. The Office of Technology Assessment of the US Congress defines monitoring as the use of computer technology to collect, store, analyse and report information about a worker's activities (Schleifer and Shell, 1992:4). Monitoring generates information used in surveillance, and surveillance incorporates monitoring (Botan and Vorvoreanu, 2005:125). For many psychologists, no explicitly political or social-theoretical issues are raised by monitoring. Monitoring has none of the dystopian baggage of surveillance: it is neutral. For psychologists, it is a question of how monitoring is used, whether it is effective and at what cost (Ball, 2001:88).

1.1.2 History of Surveillance

Surveillance is an ancient social process with a relatively long history. It has always been a component of institutional routines and human sociability, but over the past 65 years or so it has emerged as the dominant organising practice of late modernity. Surveillance has evolved into what we now know as "electronic monitoring". The supervision and control of workers should not be considered as a stable process, but rather as a changing and dynamic aspect of workplace relations. While monitoring may have been a constant throughout the history of industrialised production, its intensity has varied (Bryant, 1995; Sewell, 2012).

Since ancient times, people have "watched over" others to check what they are up to, to monitor their progress, to organise them or to care for them. Rulers of early civilisations,

such as Ancient Egypt, kept population records for purposes such as taxation, military service and immigration. Lyon (1994:23) maintains that surveillance practices can be traced back to the fifteenth century BC. Although Roman armies were highly disciplined, soldiers were closely watched so that their activities could be carefully controlled and they could be coordinated in a more machine-like way (Lyon, 2007:27). According to Marx (2002:17), in the fifteenth century religious surveillance was a powerful and dominant form. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the appearance and growth of nation states, which had both new needs and a heightened capacity for gathering and using information, political surveillance became increasingly more important than religious surveillance (Marx, 2002:18). Surveillance continued to expand as modern governments began to register births, marriages and deaths, and modern businesses began to monitor work and keep accurate records of employees' pay and progress (Lyon, 1994:4).

Over the next several centuries there was a gradual move to a broadly policed society in which agents of the state, industry and commerce came to exercise surveillance and control over wider social and geographical areas. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the explosion of population, urbanisation and industrialisation, bureaucratic surveillance expanded from these early institutional locations and became a constitutive feature of modern capitalism, thoroughly penetrating the whole social structure (Dandeker, 1990:23). The adoption of bureaucratic surveillance in industrial enterprises of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries involved the application and development of innovations discovered long before in other institutional contexts, as evidenced in disciplinary developments in seventeenth-century military organisations

(Dandeker, 1990:158). The biggest driver of this growth, however, was a shift to computerised record-keeping. What was once stored in static, fixed locations, such as index cards and filing cabinets, and shared with others only under strictly limited circumstances became mobile, searchable and shareable, both within and across organisations and even countries. This meant that surveillance capacity grew massively in several ways (Ball, Haggerty and Lyon, 2012:4).

In the 1950s, the topic of surveillance attracted the interest of scholars as a result of greater awareness of human rights abuses under colonialism, fascism and communism, and anti-democratic behaviour in democratic societies (Ball, Daniel and Stride, 2012:xxvii). Developments in material, corporate and governmental infrastructures, social changes in the dynamics of power, identity, institutional practice and interpersonal relations, and the rise of urbanisation also influenced the development of surveillance studies (Ball, Daniel and Stride, 2012:4). In 1978, Weber discussed the relationship between surveillance and bureaucracy, describing how bureaucracy forces people to use rational thought, particularly in terms of scrutinising behaviour. The introduction of the factory system constituted an important change in the degree to which social control could be exercised over workers, primarily through new possibilities of visual supervision. An even more significant change in work monitoring was introduced by Taylor in the form of scientific management. Through separation of knowledge and planning of work from its manual execution, individual tasks within each job came under scrutiny. Management's increased understanding of how work was performed enabled a much more intense form of work surveillance than had previously been possible on the shop floor. Ford's assembly line went even further in enabling

management to control and scrutinise work by building expectations of pace into the machinery of the line (Ball, Haggerty and Lyon, 2012).

In 1979, Foucault emphasised the link between surveillance and self-discipline. He described how people are forced to control or suppress their behaviour in order to comply with the norms of society. More specifically, his theory of the "panopticon" influenced people to reflect on the various ways in which human beings are forced to manage their actions within both public and private spaces. In developing the concept of the "panopticon", Foucault drew on the work of British philosopher and social reformer, Jeremy Bentham (1843:172). Bentham's work centred on the design of the panopticon penitentiary, a building constructed in a semi-circular pattern, with an inspection lodge at the centre and cells around the perimeter. In this manner, prisoners were subjected to the "gaze" of guards or inspectors (Lyon, 1994). Through a carefully contrived system of lighting and the use of wooden blinds, officials remained invisible to inmates. Internal control was to be maintained through the constant sense that "prisoners were watched by unseen eyes" (Lyon, 1994:63). Not knowing whether or not they were being watched, and therefore assuming that they were, the prisoners' only rational option was obedience. Hence, Bentham's Greek-based neologism, the "panopticon", or "all-seeing place", took shape (Foucault, 1979:170). Foucault developed this idea to illustrate the fact that people are forced to manage and regulate their behaviours so as to conform to the norms of society (Lyon, 1994).

The *overall argument* of this thesis is that, even though, the literature has improved our knowledge on a variety of issues concerning EPM, it has nonetheless, neglected to take into consideration the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. Very

little has been said on the relationship between these two elements. What actually takes place when people discipline themselves and what leads them to manage their emotions in an EPM environment? No empirical research has been carried out to answer this question (Ball, 2009; Newton, 1995). There is a need to look deeper into the relationship between self-discipline and emotion management, which requires a deeper analysis of the subjectivity of individuals and idiosyncratic experiences of emotion management. This thesis aims to fill this gap by empirically examining what really happens when individuals transfer from self-discipline to emotion management, particularly in an EPM setting.

This thesis has six chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the literature underpinning EPM and the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management, drawing on social constructionist ideas. The author embraced a social constructionist perspective, being concerned with the lived experience and social dimension of self-discipline and emotion management (Edwards, 1999; Harré, 1986). The chapter argues that self-discipline and emotion management should no longer be thought of as merely physiological reactions to specific stimuli, nor as abstract entities, but rather as actual moments of emotional feelings and displays within a specific cultural setting. This view is particularly important in this thesis, as it assists in understanding the subjective experiences of people working under EPM, as well as the role played by society.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology used in this thesis. The researcher adopted a qualitative methodology to collect and analyse the data, offering respondents the opportunity to be spontaneous and flexible in exploring phenomena in their natural environment. The chapter begins by arguing that the literature on EPM, self-discipline

and emotion management has predominantly emphasised quantitative measurement tools. Thus, there is a gap in research concerning these elements which this thesis aims to fill using an inductive approach to study individuals. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data and thematic coding was utilised to analyse the information. A single case study approach was employed to present the interpretations of the participants.

Chapter 4 presents and analyses the results of the fieldwork. In particular, the chapter discusses the results obtained from the interviews in the context of the objective of the research. Analysis of the findings is based on the themes extracted from the data. Underpinning the research is a belief that self-discipline and emotion management develop within a social setting, through interaction between individuals. The context of EPM resembles that of society at large. People working in an EPM environment may well embed in their minds the rules of the system. The researcher assumes that the events described by the interviewees in this study are products generated by them in the context of specific socio-cultural locations (Harré, 1986). Therefore, the incidents recounted by respondents shed light on their subjective experiences while working in an electronic monitoring environment.

Chapter 5 presents a discussion of how the findings of the study relate to the existing literature, how the literature is mobilised to explain the findings and how the theory itself is modified or expanded by this study. The findings of this study have revealed six main themes which help explain the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management: Control, power and discipline; rationality and corrective action;

compliance, conformity and resistance; emotional labour and management of emotions; society, responsibility and accountability; and subjectivity, internalisation and the self.

Chapter 6 draws conclusions from the results of the fieldwork and gives recommendations for further investigation. The conclusions drawn in this thesis are based on interpretations given by participants in the fieldwork study. The findings alert us to looking deeper into a variety of aspects concerning the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management: There is a need to examine further the issue of EPM awareness and the emotional variations between different types of individuals exercising self-discipline under EPM (e.g. age, gender, work experience, status). This chapter also emphasizes the theoretical and managerial contributions of this thesis: The study has *empirically* revealed what really happens when individuals transfer from self-discipline to emotion management in an EPM setting. It has modified existing theory by looking at additional elements that might play a role in the experience self-discipline and emotion management (e.g. subjectivity, internalisation, emotional exhaustion, conformity). New information about the cross over between self-discipline and emotion management may help managers rethink the use of EPM, particularly when dealing with new employees and managing employee turnover, absenteeism and low productivity.

Chapter 2: Call Centres and Monitoring

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature underpinning call centres and monitoring. Particularly, it discusses a variety of issues concerning the association between these two elements such as the growth of EPM, the types of monitoring, the advantages and disadvantages of using this technological system. Moreover, the chapter discusses a number of factors influencing the connection between call centres and monitoring such as privacy, fairness, ethics, the exercise of authority, complaince, resistance and productivity.

2.1 The role of EPM in Organisations

2.1.1 The Rise of EPM

The concept of EPM was formally introduced in the early 1980s, a period characterised by rapid advancement of technology, such as the introduction of the Internet and improvement of digital computer systems (Kizza and Ssanyu, 2005; Schulman, 2001). The topic of surveillance in the workplace has been debated since the early 1980s, when work commissioned by the US Office of Technology Assessment culminated in a report published in 1987, which combined political, economic, sociological and psychological perspectives on workplace surveillance (Ball, 2010:88). Since then, academics in these disciplines have undertaken a number of projects to measure the impact of monitoring, and to examine power and influencing processes under surveillance. As competition and the need for greater efficiency increased, more and more businesses considered such practices to be essential to their operations. Just as word processors have superseded typewriters, so surveillance devices are superseding many traditional methods of

security and information gathering. Therefore, recent advances in electronic technology have transformed the nature of employee surveillance. In contrast to supervisory surveillance, EPM is constant, pervasive and unblinking (Alder, 2001). In effect, the human supervisor has been replaced by an electronic supervisor that can track, evaluate and feedback performance on a continuous basis (Schleifer, 1992:4).

2.1.2 Types of EPM

Employee supervision and monitoring may be more sophisticated today, but they build on the rationalising trends of the past few centuries. Nowadays, both for-profit and non-profit organisations utilise more sophisticated means of monitoring individuals. Some of the most important electronic monitoring technologies presently used in organisations include visual monitoring, telephone monitoring, computer performance monitoring (CPM), access control systems and electronic vehicle tracking (Charlesworth, 2003; McCahill, 2002). This thesis examines computer and telephone monitoring.

Telephone call accounting systems are designed automatically to generate detailed information on telephone usage, including incoming and outgoing call numbers, total number of calls made, and total time on the line (Hingst, 2006**)**. Research suggests that 45 per cent of companies in the US monitor employees' telephone calls (AMA, 2007). Organisations install call accounting systems to determine cost allocation between different parts of an organisation; to provide a cross-check on the reasonableness of the telephone bill; to improve system design and management; and to improve telephone practices. The information generated may be extremely useful to companies concerned with customer service. Knowing the number of seconds a customer waits until someone is available to assist them, or how many calls are abandoned, assists companies in

determining whether additional telephone lines or operators are required. Analysis of daily and monthly telephone work volumes may also help managers better understand cycles in their business so that they can predict busy periods when they must add lines, hire temporary workers or offer overtime (Wright, 1992:8).

Another form of telephone monitoring is service observation, which involves listening in on and/or recording employee telephone calls to determine their content. Observation is generally carried out by a supervisor or quality control officer to evaluate employee courtesy, the accuracy of information disseminated, compliance with company guidelines, or knowledge of products. It involves a human listener making judgments on the content of calls. Advances in technology allow the equipment to operate silently so that neither party on the line is aware of the observation. With the advent of voice messaging and voice mailboxes, a new type of telephone monitoring has developed. Some companies review employee voicemail greetings to check for appropriateness. There is also the potential to play back messages left to determine whether they are work related or personal. This electronic monitoring practice is used primarily by firms engaged in telemarketing, direct sales and market research, and by companies with large customer service departments (Wright, 1992:8).

CPM is one of the fastest growing areas in workplace surveillance (Bates and Holton, 1995; Lund, 1989; Nebeker and Tatum, 1993; Stanton and Weiss, 2000). Using specifically designed monitoring software, employers are now able to collect performance data on employees working on computers whenever they are logged in. In the late 1980s, a study of about 1,500 employees in 50 Canadian firms examined CPM and control systems and determined that computer monitoring systems are capable of

executing a variety of tasks, depending on their design and purpose (Wright, 1992:8). Some monitoring systems merely collect statistics on performance (e.g. word-processor logs that count lines or keystrokes) and aggregate these into periodic summaries. Other systems evaluate these statistics, while still others actually direct work to employees. More sophisticated designs alert supervisors when a worker is not connected to the system, and may also compare actual performance with productivity standards on a minute-by-minute basis (Aiello, 1993; Alder and Ambrose, 2005). Systems may feed performance data back to the employee to allow self-monitoring, or they may send information directly to supervisors. Computer work monitoring is able to provide information on individual performance or a picture of the aggregate performance of a work group or department. Statistics on patterns of performance can be used to estimate future workloads, to plan for new personnel or to justify new equipment. Computer-generated statistics may also be used to measure employee performance, and may be tied to personnel decisions such as pay increases, promotion, retraining and discharge. A new type of computer monitoring involves the use of electronic mail (email) for surveillance purposes. From the moment a sender creates an email message until it is read by the recipient, the material is in an electronic form that may be readily intercepted and read by anyone with the necessary equipment (Wright, 1992:8). More than half of US companies monitor Internet connections, 65 per cent of which use software that blocks inappropriate websites. In 2006, a survey of 294 US companies found that more than a third of those with 1,000 or more workers employed people to read other employees' outbound email in search of rule-breaking, and it has been estimated that 27 million "online" employees are monitored worldwide (Ball, 2010:88).

In 2007, the AMA revealed that approximately a third of American companies dismiss employees for misusing Internet and email facilities.

2.1.3 Importance of EPM

Considerable amounts of time, money and effort have been invested by companies around the world in implementing EPM practices. In the most recently available statistics, it has been estimated that approximately 20 million people in the US are subject to electronic monitoring at work (ILO, 1993), and in 2002 over 70,000 organisations were estimated to be using some form of electronic monitoring (Stanton and Julian, 2002:87). In 2001, the AMA found that almost 80 per cent of US firms monitor employees electronically in some way, representing "an increase of over 40 per cent since the early 1990s" (Carroll, 2007:3).

Kizza and Ssanyu (2005:6) found out that 29.2 per cent of organisations monitor for productivity. Many employers believe that employees spend a lot of time on non-work activities while at work: 9.2 per cent monitor for theft of company property; 21.5 per cent monitor for espionage (it is common for employees deliberately or unconsciously to acquire information from or give information to other companies); 9.2 per cent monitor for performance review purposes; 6.2 per cent monitor to prevent harassment; 3.1 per cent monitor to find missing data, assuming that employees might have it; 3.1 per cent monitor to identify illegal software on company computers, installed by employees for their personal use; and 3.1 per cent monitor to prevent personal use of company computers on unproductive activities by employees.

Given the possible productivity benefits of EPM in information and service work, as well as the resulting competitive advantage that it provides in a global economy

(Schleifer, 1992:4), it is predicted that EPM will increase substantially in the future (Alder, 2001; Alder and Ambrose, 2005; Ball, 2002; Johnston and Cheng, 2002; Stanton and Weiss, 2000). It is anticipated that more innovative EPM systems will be developed, such as microscopic digital cameras and face/fingerprint recognition scanners (Ball, 2002). Gray (2003:314), for example, has explored the potential use of face recognition surveillance mechanisms in urban spaces, arguing that "the seamless integration of linked databases of human images and the automated digital recollection of the past will necessarily alter societal conceptions of privacy as well as the dynamics of individual and group interactions in public space". Mann et al. (2003) suggest that various surveillance innovations will be developed in the near future as a result of sophisticated photographic techniques.

2.1.4 Reasons for Using EPM

There are many reasons why organisations use EPM. A key reason is the simple fact that the technology is available. New technology makes EPM easy to use and relatively inexpensive to install, so those with a desire to monitor can do so more easily than ever before. Kizza and Ssanyu (2005:2) claim that employee monitoring is a dependable, capable and very affordable process of electronically or otherwise recording all employee activities, both at work and, increasingly, outside the workplace. The growing use of new technologies in the workplace has allowed managers to monitor employees at a level that was not previously feasible (Aiello, 1993).

Organisations use EPM as an indirect means of increasing profit whilst reducing costs. Employees' knowledge that their performance is being electronically monitored forces them to work harder to keep up with the demands of the system. Consequently, their

productivity rises, yielding greater financial benefits to the organisation. Wright (1992:11) claims that productivity is one of the main reasons cited by employers for introducing electronic surveillance to the workplace. Employers believe that corporate survival demands continuous improvements in employee productivity. It has been estimated that the most costly losses incurred by organisations result from human error, accidents and omissions: an estimated 50 to 80 per cent of annual losses are attributed to errors and oversights by employees. Errors, poor products and slow service negatively affect businesses; hence, good management practice requires monitoring to identify and correct problems promptly. More specifically, electronic monitoring is considered to be an effective technique for increasing employee productivity since it provides managers with information on rates of production, highlights problems impeding production and identifies possible ways of improving efficiency. Electronically monitored employees are seen to be the most productive and least costly in terms of absenteeism, insurance and compensation costs, and safety problems (Wright, 1992:12).

2.1.5 Implementation of EPM

The majority of companies using EPM are medium to large and operate for profit. Banks, call centres, supermarkets, hotels and universities use surveillance technology (Helten and Fischer, 2004; Hingst, 2006)**.** Performance monitoring by electronic means is generally implemented either by a specialised department, such as information technology (IT), or by a manager of an organisation seeking to evaluate employee performance. Information regarding an individual's performance is collected through electronic observation, telephone voice recording or statistical transcription. This information is later analysed by supervisors, managers and/or human resource

specialists in order to assess whether or not people are working in accordance with appropriate standards (Dandeker, 1990; Lyon, 1994).

2.1.6 Advantages and Disadvantages of EPM

Since their inception, EPM systems have been seen as a benefit by some and an affliction by others (Irving, Higgins and Safayeni, 1986; Weckert, 2005).

EPM has been seen to offer a number of benefits to both organisations and employees. For example, it offers employees the opportunity to show that they have not been involved in any criminal act, such as theft, providing important evidence of their innocence. Employees are also able to demonstrate the effectiveness of their performance within the organisation, working in a professional environment in which supervisors and managers can fairly and equitably assess how well they are performing. Therefore, EPM allows employees to be fairly rewarded for their performance (Alder and Ambrose, 2005; Moorman and Wells, 2003). EPM assists organisations in gathering useful information about employee performance that would otherwise be very difficult and time-consuming to collect (Aiello, 1993; Stanton and Julian, 2002). For instance, quantitative and qualitative information may be collected with regard to how well employees are carrying out their daily duties. Stanton and Julian (2002:87) claim that "with EPM systems, managers can ascertain the pace at which employees are working, the degree of performance accuracy, log-in/log-out times, and even the number of bathroom breaks". Hence, organisations are in a position to identify productivity problems and to make appropriate corrections, enabling them to increase both their short-term and long-term competitiveness (Alder, 2001; Ball, 2010; Panina and Aiello, 2005; Schleifer and Shell, 1992).

Bates and Holton (1995:270) argue that CPM provides increased organisational control, facilitates management of resources, assists in planning of workloads, and improves the design of training programmes. CPM may also enhance the feedback process by increasing the immediacy and frequency with which performance information can be provided (Grant and Higgins, 1989; Grant, Higgins and Irving 1988; Irving, Higgins and Safayeni, 1986; Kidwell and Bennett, 1994). Others argue that electronic monitoring systems may facilitate increased production through the establishment and enforcement of performance standards (Schleifer and Shell, 1992) and may aid in the identification of production problems (Nebeker and Tatum, 1993). CPM may also overcome systematic biases of traditional performance evaluation by providing a more accurate picture of performance as a result of the system's ability to collect large amounts of quantitative data, access employee work behaviour at any time, and continuously record performance (Fenner, Lerch and Kulik, 1993; Henriques, 1986). Finally, making more work behaviour information available to employees via CPM may enhance their control over the production process (Smith, Carayon and Meizio, 1986; Henderson et al., 1998).

However, EPM increases operating costs in terms of equipment (hardware and software), electricity, training and human resources. Companies invest considerable amounts of time and effort in maintaining systems, as well as analysing the data collected (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a). EPM may also cause greater absenteeism, or force individuals permanently to leave their jobs. These highly negative outcomes may result in productivity problems, as well as increases in labour costs (Carton and Aiello, 2009; Douthitt and Aiello, 2000). Furthermore, EPM may reduce worker job control and increase pressure (Amick and Smith, 1992; Smith and Amick, 1989). A number of

studies have revealed that such monitoring may lead to stress and job dissatisfaction (Amick and Smith, 1992; Carayon, 1993; Kolb and Aiello, 1996). According to Schleifer and Shell (1992:50):

> *electronic monitoring is likely to be stressful when it is used to enforce compliance with performance standards that workers have difficulty meeting. Under such conditions, workers may experience stress through work overload, negative computer/supervisor feedback, and threat of job loss.*

Knowing that they are being electronically watched makes employees anxious to avoid exhibiting improper behaviour. Similarly, employees using computers may be concerned about their actions, worrying that the IT administrator will reprimand them if they visit a wrong site, send an inappropriate email or carry out unrelated work. When using the telephone, they may experience pressure to answer sufficient calls politely within the time period allowed (Chalykoff and Kochan, 1989; Schleifer and Shell, 1992; Thompson, 2003).

Johnston and Cheng (2002:6) claim that other health problems are experienced by employees whose performance is technologically monitored, including high tension, headaches, depression, anger, severe fatigue and musculoskeletal problems (Aiello and Kolb, 1995b; Hales et al., 1994; Smith et al., 1992; Stanton, 2000; Stanton and Weiss, 2000). In addition to adverse effects on attitudes and health, many employees complain that electronic monitoring creates a conflict between quantity and quality of performance. Some believe that when their work is being monitored electronically, the

quantity of their output is emphasised at the expense of the quality of their work (Shell and Allgeier, 1992, cited in Stanton and Julian, 2002:87).

A study of teleworkers found that employees felt that certain information regarding their physical whereabouts should be off limits to employers (Zweig and Webster, 2002). Excessive monitoring may also be detrimental to employees because, like all surveillance technologies, it may result in "function creep" (Ball, 2010:94). This is because monitoring technologies may sometimes yield more information than intended, and management must avoid the temptation to extend monitoring without first consulting employees (Ball, 2010:94). Other field and laboratory studies have found that monitored employees experience higher levels of stress and dissatisfaction than non-monitored employees (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a; Irving, Higgins and Safayeni, 1986). This implies that performance monitoring may be experienced either as a demand, because effort has to be expended in thinking about one's performance, or as a threat, because information gained through monitoring may affect remuneration or relationships with coworkers (Alder, 1998, cited in Holman, 2005:121).

Taking these advantages and disadvantages into consideration, it would be a mistake to focus exclusively on one facet of EPM (Higgins and Grant, 1989). Lyon (1994:31) argues that surveillance originated in a paradoxical fashion, being the outcome of a quest for citizenship and also of greater centralised state control, and is experienced with ambivalence. People may be both grateful for the protection and the procurement of rights which it affords, and simultaneously irritated and defensive when meddlesome bureaucracy invades what they see as their private space, or angered at threats to their autonomy (Chalykoff and Kochan, 1989; Oz, Glass and Behling, 1999). In general,

researchers take a middle ground, suggesting that monitoring technology itself is neutral. For example, Attewell (1987) has suggested that the use of performance monitoring is as old as industry itself and, although monitoring provides new methods for examining employees' work, the fundamental purposes, uses and results of electronic and computer monitoring do not differ from more traditional forms. Aiello and Svec (1993) similarly conclude that the way in which employers, managers and employees use information gathered through monitoring carries greater weight in determining reactions to and the impact of computer monitoring. From this perspective, how the system is designed, implemented and used affects employee reactions and the system's effectiveness (Stanton and Weiss, 2000, cited in Alder and Ambrose, 2005:162).

2.2 Call Centres and EPM

2.2.1 Description and Characteristics of Call Centres

Taylor and Bain (1999:102) define a call centre as "a dedicated operation in which computer-utilising employees receive inbound – or make outbound telephone calls – with those calls processed either by an Automatic Call Distribution (ACD) system" or a predictive dialling system. Holman and Wood (2003:4) describe a call centre as:

> *a work environment in which the main business is mediated by computer and telephone-based technologies that enable the efficient distribution of incoming calls (or allocation of outgoing calls) to available staff, and permits customer-employee interaction to occur simultaneously with the use of display*

screen equipment and instant access to and inputting of information.

The organisational purposes of call centres are many and varied. They include telemarketing (making outbound calls to the public in attempts to sell products over the phone); help desks set up by companies to offer phone- and email-based assistance to customers who have purchased their products; and the provision of travel services, financial services and other products (Winiecki, 2004:80). It is important to recognise that there is considerable variety in call centre work, determined largely by the extent to which calls are inbound or outbound, and therefore either responding to requests for information and action or concerned with telesales and marketing, as well as the complexity and variability of the product, the depth of knowledge required to handle service interactions, and the extent to which this knowledge is contextually bound (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:234).

Call centres are not uniform (Taylor and Bain, 2001). Wickham and Collins (2004:6) maintain that call centres vary in size, industrial sector, market, complexity, call cycle time, nature of operations (inbound, outbound or combined), the precise manner of technological integration, the effectiveness of representative institutions including trade unions, management style and priorities. Work in call centres is multi-tasked, flexible and involves product knowledge. Taylor and Bain (2001) compare white collar factories with call centres, characterising the former as quantity call centres and the latter as quality call centres (Table 1). While they recognise that the extreme quantitative form represents a "significant development in the Taylorization of white collar work" (Taylor

and Bain, 1999:109), it is also argued that this is not inherent to call centre work *per se* (Wickham and Collins, 2004:6).

Quantity	**Quality**
Simple customer interaction	Complex customer interaction
Routinisation	Individualisation/customization
Hard targets	Soft targets
Strict script adherence	Flexible or no scripts
Tight call handling times	Relaxed call handling times
Tight "wrap-up" times	Customer satisfaction a priority
High percentage of time on phone/ready	Possibility of off-phone task completion
Statistics driven	Statistics modified by quality criteria
Volume	Value

Table 1: Characteristics of quality and quantity call centres (Taylor and Bain, 2001:45)

The extent and the form of call centre employment also vary in terms of national labour markets. Employment in call centres has been far greater in the UK than in most of continental Europe, with the significant exception of the Netherlands. Whereas call centres in the UK are popularly defined as women's work, in Germany call centres are defined as students' work (Wickham and Collins, 2004:7). It is unlikely that extreme forms of quantitative call centre will continue to dominate employment in the sector. Organisations have been confronted by high staff turnover and workers refusing to smile down the phone on demand, so call centre managements are moving away from more rigid forms of supervision (Wickham and Collins, 2004:7).

2.2.2 Research on Call Centres

The explosion of academic research on call centres has matched the emergence and growth of the industry. For example, a search on Google Scholar unearthed around 39,000 articles mentioning call centres. In the social sciences, call centres embody many of the debates and discussions resonating across disciplines (Burgess and Connell, 2006:3). Nevertheless, academic studies of call centres remain limited in both number

and scope, particularly in the fields of employment relationships and the labour process. This has consequently left the role of self-discipline in emotion management unexplored. While this is hardly surprising given the recent, rapid growth of the sector, academic research may also have been hampered by confusion over precisely what constitutes a call centre (Taylor and Bain, 1999:101). "Call centre research has proved itself to be open to discoveries and able to learn from the field ... call centres are an organizational field in the process of construction" (Holtgrewe and Kerst, 2002:2). Research into call centres has been carried out in various countries around the world. Burgess and Connell (2006) examine how call centres are used in India, South Korea and Greece; Taylor and Bain (2006) have examined how call centres operate in India; Weinkopf (2006) has explored call centres in Germany; Russell (2006) has studied call centres in Australia; and Holman (2005) and Fernie and Metcalf (1998) have examined call centres in the UK.

The very recent, and extremely rapid, growth of call centres in the UK is the principal reason for the paucity of academic writing on this major industrial development. Significant early contributions concentrated on the emergence of "branchless" retail banking and spatial and regional aspects of growth (Marshall and Richardson, 1996; Richardson and Marshall, 1996), developments in Australia and the growing importance of considerations of quality (Frenkel and Donoghue, 1996) and payment systems (Fernie and Metcalf, 1998). The last of these attracted widespread media attention, although more for the authors' headline-making declarations than for its intrinsic academic interest (Taylor and Bain, 2000:2).

Few sectors of British industry have attracted more publicity in recent years than call centre operations. Newspapers and business journals have been awash with projections of dramatic growth in both the number of call centres and the number of people employed in them (Taylor and Bain, 1999:101). The call centre phenomenon embodies "mega" issues that impinge on the future of work. As mentioned previously, these include the impact of continued ICT development, the restructuring of organisations, the globalisation of business operations and the construction and delivery of service work. These are all profound issues that impact on work, work quality, jobs and living standards. To date, at least three collections of research have brought together contributions of call centre researchers from several countries, with differing points of focus. There have been examinations of the reconstruction and delivery of service sector work (Frenkel et al., 1999), the labour process in call centres across the UK and Germany (Holtgrewe, Kerst and Shire, 2002) and issues associated with the organisation and management of the call centre workforce across several countries (Deery and Kinnie, 2004, cited in Burgess and Connell, 2006:7). Whilst, these three studies enlighten our view about the situation existing in call centres, they fail to elaborate on the connection between self-discipline and emotion management.

The nature of call centre work in the UK has been approached from a number of perspectives, traditionally focusing on aspects such as production lines (Fernie and Metcalf, 1998), empowerment (Frenkel et al., 1999) and worker resistance (Bain and Taylor, 2000). More recently, focus has shifted to call centre working in terms of human resource issues (Deery and Kinnie, 2004, cited in Durbin, 2012:117). The call centre workplace has indeed been the subject of considerable argument and rhetoric in both

academic and wider contexts (Taylor and Bain, 1998; Holtgrewe and Kerst, 2002). Much of the academic input in the UK has focused on the labour process and Taylorism, with "control" and "skill" being contested terrain (Rose and Wright, 2005:138). Wickham and Collins (2004:1) suggest that call centre research has now become part of researchers' initiation into workplace studies. Whereas to date most sociological research on call centres has focused on what appear to be new forms of control and surveillance to which workers (agents) are subjected, call centres are also emblematic of new forms of "virtual", poly-authored and market-supervised work. These new forms of work are now being disseminated from call centres into the wider world. Call centres are therefore nurseries of a new form of work (Wickham and Collins, 2004:1).

Wickham and Collins (2004:14) have developed a call centre research typology, as shown in Figure 1. Most call centre literature focuses implicitly on the bottom left-hand quadrant: on call centres in which work involves quantity and where the centre itself is spatially separated from the rest of the enterprise. There is a strong focus on control within the call centre, which is treated as isolated from the rest of the organisation and largely from the rest of society.

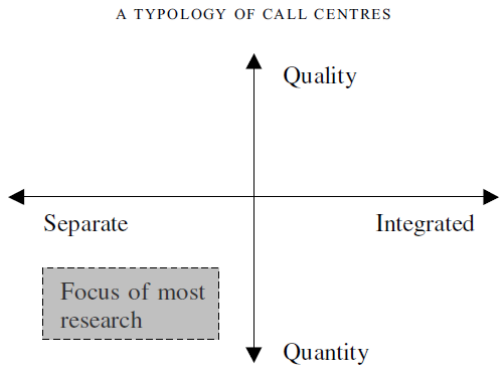


Figure 1: A typology of call centres (Source: Wickham and Collins, 2004:14)

2.2.3 Importance of Call Centres

Call centres have rapidly become an established and significant part of the global economy. They are now present in all sectors and occur in almost all national economies. Call centres are also of growing importance in emerging economies such as India and Malaysia (Taylor and Bain, 2003, cited in Holman, 2005:111). The number of call centres is growing at a rate of 40 per cent per year globally (Lewig and Dollard, 2003). In the 1990s they employed about three per cent of the workforce in the United States and 1.3 per cent in Europe, not including the UK (Datamonitor, 1998, 1999). In the UK, by the end of 2003 the call centre sector comprised 5,320 contact centre operations with almost 500,000 agent positions. The sector grew by almost 250 per cent between 1995 and 2004 and was forecast to grow to almost 650,000 agent positions by 2007, directly employing over a million people (Department of Trade and Industry, 2004). The dramatic increase in the numbers employed results from advances in front-office automation and innovations in telephone technologies, such as the integration of automatic call distribution and other highly sophisticated telephone routing systems (Batt and Moynihan, 2002, cited in Sprigg and Jackson, 2006:197).

Similar patterns of growth and employment have occurred in the USA, Australia and other European countries (Holman, 2003:123). There has been a massive growth in call centres worldwide, resulting in a parallel escalation in international white collar employment (Bain et al, 2002; Richardson, Belt and Marshall, 2000). In Europe alone there are over 15,000 call centres, and the number of centres is growing by an average of around 10 per cent per year. It is evident that call centres are being established in and relocated to all parts of the globe, with call centre industries not only in Europe but also

in Asia, North and South Africa, and Central and South America (Datamonitor, 2005a, 2005b). Call centres have moved from being the product of internal restructuring of large organisations with a large customer base (such as banks, insurance companies, teleommunication companies and utilities) to independent and specialist service providers that encompass all services and all countries with the requisite ICT platform (Burgess and Connell, 2006:2).

2.2.4 Problems in Call Centres

Call centres are controversial (Richardson and Howcroft, 2006). On the one hand, they may help businesses and employees, but on the other they may cause operational and labour problems (Ellis and Taylor, 2006; Houlihan, 2002; Richardson and Howcroft, 2006). Employees respond in various ways to call centre work. Optimism generated by predictions of spectacular expansion has been tempered by more critical assessments of call centres. The popularity and growth of computer-enabled customer contact centres has spawned powerful images seeking to capture the essence of this form of work organisation. For example, call centres have been characterised as "electronic sweatshops", "electronic panopticons", "dark satanic mills of the twenty-first century", ''battery farms'' and "assembly lines in the head" (Fernie and Metcalf, 1998; Taylor and Bain, 2000; Rose and Wright, 2005; Wegge et al., 2006). These characterisations delineate the nature of work in call centres. Call centres are considered to be dead-end jobs that are poorly paid, closely monitored and highly routinised. Although this is far from a uniform picture, it is clear that the purpose of call centres is to deliver customer service at the lowest possible cost (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:4). They seek to rationalise the work process through the extensive use of advanced information technology and to

standardise service encounters with functionally equivalent and interchangeable service providers. This has important implications for worker wellbeing. The pressure to maximise call volume and minimise costs may lead to jobs that limit employee discretion and fail to make full use of workers' skills. Most call centres operate on an engineering model and are run like a production line. Jobs are narrowly constructed, interactions with customers are tightly scripted and electronic surveillance is widespread. Employees often have very little free time during their working day and are presented with few opportunities for respite from the constant emotional demands of the job (Deery and Kinnie, 2002).

Research on call centres has demonstrated that high job demands (workload, call volume, concentration, problem solving, role ambiguity) and low job resources (control over method, timing and interactions, social support, participation, supervisor relationships, skill utilisation) are associated with various indicators of poor psychological wellbeing such as anxiety, depression, emotional exhaustion, psychosomatic complaints, absenteeism and turnover (Wegge et al., 2006). In addition, poor work station design, prolonged computer use, repetitive physical movements of computer-based work, and job demands have been linked to musculoskeletal disorders of the wrist, neck, shoulder and back (Holman, 2005; Schleifer, Galinsky and Pan, 1996). A study of 936 employees in 22 call centres argued that upper body and lower back disorders are mediated by psychological strain. Using logistic regression and structural equation modelling, Sprigg et al. (2007:1456) found that the relationship between workload and musculoskeletal disorders of the upper body and lower back was largely accounted for by job-related strain.

Writers on the experiences and behaviours of call agents (Knights and McCabe, 1998; Taylor, 1998; McKinlay and Taylor, 1996) identify themes such as stress, disengagement, resistance, emotional labour and reduced space for "escape" (Houlihan, 2000:230). These workplace experiences are thought to contribute to high levels of staff turnover in the call centre industry (Holman, 2005:111). Baumgartner, Good, and Udris (2002), for example, examined 242 call agents in 14 call centres in Switzerland and found high levels of turnover (annual rates of between eight and fifty per cent) and absence. In their sample, the most frequently cited reason for call agents leaving was monotony (Sprigg and Jackson, 2006:197). The United States Department of Labor has reported costs from musculoskeletal disorders (MSDs) of more than $50 billion a year (Coovert and Thompson, 2003). The most recent equivalent figure for the United Kingdom is £5.7 billion, with MSDs accounting for some 11.6 million lost working days a year (Health and Safety Executive, 2005, cited in Sprigg, Stride and Smith, 2007:1456).

Other studies, however, present a quite different image of call centre work. Research on call centres in Germany (Holtgrewe, 2003) and in several other countries (Batt, 1999; Kinnie et al., 2000; Frenkel et al., 1999; Van den Broek, 2003; Wray-Bliss, 2001) suggests that it is inappropriate to lump all call centres together. Call centres cannot easily be characterised as offering badly paid, monotonous and simple service work (Weinkopf, 2006:58). Dormann and Zijlstra (2010:306) argue that call centres are indeed the result of a modern rationalisation process, but that does not mean that all people working in call centres have little variety and no control over their work.

For example, Frenkel et al. (1998, cited in Deery and Kinnie, 2002:4) point to a greater diversity in call centre work, revealing environments in which jobs provide challenge and interest and where the skills of front-line workers are acknowledged and valued. Evidence suggests that call centres offer a number of organisational and employee benefits (Sprigg and Jackson, 2006:197). With regard to organisations, they may provide various business advantages, such as greater efficiency, a high degree of flexibility and responsiveness, reduced dependence on employee skills and substantial cost savings (Houlihan, 2000:228). Call centres may reduce the cost of existing functions, improve customer service facilities and offer new avenues for revenue generation, such as exploiting customer databases for direct selling (Holman, 2003:123). By using call centres, large organisations may reduce their core employee numbers and costs, while still benefiting from continuous, and in some cases extended, service provision (Burgess, and Connell, 2006:2). Indeed, call centres are a good example of how networking and business-to-business relationships can generate significant financial and efficiency gains (Burgess and Connell, 2006:5). Economies of scale, overhead reductions and new selling opportunities are facilitated by the distinctive integration of telephone and computer technologies such as ACD systems, which enable remote customers to be connected in real time to service centres, and are realised through novel forms of labour utilisation and work organisation (Batt, 1999; Holman, 2005; Taylor and Bain, 2006).

In terms of call centre employees, several studies have been less negative, especially those directly comparing call centre employees with those in other occupations. For example, in a study of 339 Swiss call centre employees, Grebner et al. (2003) compared

call agents with a group comprising five occupations (cooks, sales assistants, nurses, bank clerks and electronics technicians) and found similar levels of wellbeing and less intention to quit among call agents (Sprigg and Jackson, 2006:197). The results of a study by Holman (2003:129) show that call centres are not all "electronic sweatshops" and that levels of wellbeing are similar to other work environments. Call centre work is not inevitably stressful for employees. Cross-national studies conducted by Frenkel et al. (1998, 1999) and also reported in Korczynski (2002:95) suggest quite high levels of overall satisfaction, with nearly three quarters of respondents reporting some satisfaction with their job. The greatest satisfaction appears to be derived from customers ("helping people") and from the camaraderie and social support that develops in the work environment (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:9). There is evidence, for example, that some find this form of service work greatly rewarding, enjoying the social interaction and peer support that exists in many centres (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:9).

2.2.5 EPM in Call Centres

Surveillance technology plays a critical role in call centres (Arkin, 1997; Taylor and Bain, 1999; Callaghan and Thomson, 2001; Bain et al., 2002; Deery and Kinnie, 2004). Work is automatically allocated to telephone operators to minimise waiting time; the speed of work and level of downtime is continuously measured; and the quality of interactions between service provider and customer can be assessed remotely and at management's discretion (Deery and Kinnie, 2002; Koskina, 2006). Call centres require their employees to be skilled in interacting directly with customers while simultaneously working with sophisticated computer-based systems which both dictate the pace of their work and monitor its quality (Deery and Kinnie, 2002; Schuler, 2000).

What makes the call centre environment unique is the ICT infrastructure which determines how work is carried out. This takes the form of information databases, transaction terminals and ACD systems (Burgess and Connell, 2006; Clergeau, 2005; Houlihan, 2000). These are utilised to give predictive capacity to managers, to maximise performance and intervene with guidance and direction as soon as aberrations or problems become known, to facilitate the streamlining of systems, and to enable a constant tweaking of performance (Zuboff, 1989, cited in Houlihan, 2000:228).

A 2001 study revealed that EPM was widespread in call centres (ICMI, 2002). Approximately 93 per cent of call centres carried out some form of EPM on their employees, a five per cent increase from two years previously. Twenty-five percent monitored individual employee phone calls ten or more times per month. Other types of monitoring (email, faxes and web text/chat sessions) were also surveyed. Email monitoring was the most common in internet/telecom (52 per cent), catalogue/retail (52 per cent) and financial services (43 per cent) call centres. Call centre managers also indicated that measuring employee performance (77 per cent) and identifying additional training needs (72 per cent) were the most important reasons for using EPM (ICMI, 2002). Holman et al.'s (2007) survey indicates that EPM is more prevalent in industrialised countries. The NAQC (2010, cited in Perkins, 2013:5) states that call centre monitoring consists of a combination of qualitative and quantitative measures.

Call centres are often cited as an example of how organisations monitor employees because workers are subject to constant inspection of their activity by computer, from time spent on breaks, to time waiting to take calls, to time spent emailing and filing after a call has finished. Call centres may either be in-house (dedicated to handling customer

service and sales enquiries for a single organisation's products) or may operate in a standalone capacity, handling a variety of customers for different businesses (Ball, 2009). A more aggressive side of call centre work is the common requirement for employees to have good social skills and the ability to build an instant rapport with customers over the telephone (i.e. "smiling down the phone"). Every aspect of call centre agents' activity is captured and measured, either by a call monitoring system which measures the different activities undertaken, or by a call recording system which enables supervisors to score employees' performance in terms of compliance with company procedures and call scripts and to assess their "social competency" (Ball, 2009).

EPM in a call centre involves the observation, examination, recording and feedback of employee work behaviours (Carayon, 1993; Stanton, 2000). A supervisor listens to a call, either sitting beside a customer service representative (CSR) or remotely (with or without the CSR's knowledge), and evaluates its quality. Call quality is normally evaluated against a mixture of knowledge-based, behavioural and attitudinal criteria such as adherence to a script, call opening and closing, accuracy of information, product knowledge, helpfulness, empathy, enthusiasm and professional tone (Bain et al., 2002; Holman et al., 2002). These evaluations are normally fed back in one-to-one discussions, and summated results are fed back to team meetings (Holman, 2005:115). Statistics and reports on almost any measurable aspect of activity can be obtained from ACD systems, giving the impression of complete controllability. The main focus is on measurable outcomes, such as time per call, number of calls handled and lost, and yield per person per hour. Other factors include turnover, absenteeism and time away from the

phone (Houlihan, 2000:236). In many call centres, work is subject to constant human and technological monitoring. In particular, employees' telephone calls and computer inputs are recorded and counted, and these results are fed back to employees to reward or develop performance (Wickham and Collins, 2004). The main aspects of call centre work that are subject to electronic monitoring include time logged in and out of the system, time available or unavailable to answer calls, number of calls handled, lost or resolved first time, and time spent per call or on auxiliary activities such as breaks, filing or ringing customers back. Each work activity has a code in the computerised telephony system, which employees must indicate by pressing the corresponding button on their telephone consoles (Ball and Margulis, 2011:113).

2.3 Privacy, Fairness and Ethics

2.3.1 Privacy

Much of the literature on EPM is devoted to issues of privacy, fairness and ethics. Lyon and Zureik (1996:14) claim that privacy is also the right of an individual to withhold himself and his property from public scrutiny, if he so chooses. Privacy is perhaps the most frequently referenced issue with regard to the use of technological systems for regulating, accounting for and categorising the population (Neyland, 2006:2). Ball (2010:98) maintains that privacy, ethics and human rights issues are endemic to workplace surveillance, while Ball, Daniel and Stride (2012:376) have identified three distinct concerns with regard to privacy: personal information, working environment and solitude.

Privacy has become an issue, particularly when workers do not know when or how they are being monitored. Since work organisations often do not share performance data with

workers, a related privacy issue is whether workers have access to their own performance records or the right to question incorrect information (Schleifer and Shell, 1992:50). Bates and Holton (1995:270) maintain that CPM is an invasion of employee privacy insofar as the technology is able silently to monitor and collect performance data without employees' knowledge. Others argue that monitoring systems invade worker privacy, create an atmosphere of mistrust, and undermine employee loyalty (Agre, 1994; Alder and Ambrose, 2005; Clarke, 2005; McGrath, 2004; Stalder, 2002; Stanton and Stam, 2006). Charlesworth (2003:218) claims that:

> *the modern employee may be watched via CCTV whilst working in the (open-plan) office, her telephone calls recorded, her office conversation monitored by listening devices, her key strokes logged, her computer screen monitored, her movements noted by sensors in her seat, her whereabouts in the building pinpointed by a location badge. She may also be obliged, prior to or during her employment, to submit to urinalysis, personality testing and genetic screening and monitoring.*

People working under electronic monitoring believe that such practices violate their sense of freedom and autonomy (Findlay and McKinlay, 2003:306). They perceive electronic performance monitoring as a medium in which their free will and independence are eroded (Kelvin, 1973).

A study carried out by Zweig and Webster (2002:627) found that gaining acceptance of a new technology such as an awareness monitoring system is not simply a matter of designing a system that respects individuals. More fundamentally, they found out that if

the system invades personal boundaries, it will result in perceptions of privacy invasion and unfairness. However, some individuals believed that email or telephone communications were invasions of privacy or even unfair. Thus, Zweig and Webster (2002) may simply have captured respondents' initial reactions to a new technology in their study.

Ball, Daniel and Stride (2012:377) found out that telephone call centres where employees work in large open-plan environments and are subject to ongoing monitoring and recording pose many problems of privacy. Whilst individuals may be able to take steps to protect their privacy as citizens and consumers, it may be harder to take such action in their workplaces, as they will usually be subject to working practices and environments dictated by their employers (Ball, Haggerty and Lyon, 2012:377).

Privacy is also associated with the socio-cultural environment. Agre (1994:740) claims that ideas of privacy are cultural phenomena. They are shaped through historical experience, they condition perceptions of newly arising phenomena, and they are reproduced or transformed in all of the same complicated ways as other elements of culture (Agre, 1994:740).

2.3.2 Fairness

In addition to affecting perceptions of privacy, EPM may influence perceptions of fairness, or subjective judgments of what is right and wrong. It has been well established that fairness plays a key role in determining reactions to organisational events such as EPM (Zweig and Webster, 2002:608). For example, if the actions of individuals are monitored electronically, they want to know that all of their colleagues are monitored with the same consistency and intensity to ensure that monitoring procedures and the

distribution of outcomes are fair. Thus, maintaining equity in monitoring may be even more important than maintaining employees' right to privacy (Stone-Romero, Stone and Hyatt, 2003; Zweig, 2005)

Fairness can be conceptualised as a subjective judgment of what is right and wrong with respect to outcomes, procedures and interactions (Zweig, 2005:106). Performance evaluations based on CPM data, for example, may be unfair to employees because the data on which these evaluations are made may not be available to the employee (Bates and Holton, 1995:270). Interactions are deemed interpersonally fair when "an employee is treated with dignity and respect, and personal attacks are refrained from" (Rupp and Spencer, 2006:971). Examples of interpersonal fairness violations include treating employees in a disrespectful or demeaning way. Nevertheless, treatment perceived as unfair by one employee may not be viewed as unfair by another (Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1336).

The way in which management handles monitoring may also affect perceptions of employee fairness. Niehoff and Moorman (1993:551) maintain that whether a manager is considerate and personal, or cold and impersonal, will affect employee responses to monitoring, suggesting that the quality of exchanges between manager and subordinate influences the degree of monitoring and its perceived fairness. Zweig and Webster (2002:610) claim that employees will respond more positively to monitoring systems that engender perceptions of fairness. When systems are less invasive, greater acceptance will result. Individuals who perceive that a monitoring system upholds privacy and fairness will hold more positive attitudes toward it (Zweig and Webster, 2002:610).

Stanton (2000) has reported perceptions of greater fairness when participants are offered justifications for monitoring activities. Perceived fairness will be greater when employees receive rationales for decisions to implement monitoring systems, justifications of their purpose and explanations of how they will be used (Ambrose and Alder, 2000; Kidwell and Bennett, 1994; Stanton, 2000; Zweig and Webster, 2002). Introna (2003:213) argues that observing people via EPM involves not only issues of legality but also, more importantly, ethical matters of privacy and fairness: "In its operation surveillance is not just a general 'staring' at the world; it is always with a purpose, i.e. to make some judgment about the one being monitored".

2.3.3 Ethics

Issues of privacy and fairness also entail questions of ethicality (Alder and Tompkins, 1997:261). If an EPM system contributes negatively to individual employee performance in a call centre, there may be ethical implications in using data from that same system to evaluate the performance of the employee. Thus, Perkins (2013:5) poses the following ethical dilemma: "Is it ethical for a call center manager to evaluate the performance of a call center employee using electronic performance monitoring data gathered on the employee?"

A major concern of organisational justice, as it relates to electronic monitoring, is the scope of monitoring (Alder and Tompkins, 1997:273). The ethical decision model suggests that EPM may be successful in a call centre, depending on the relationship between call centre manager and employee. Ball (2001:211) carried out a study on ethical issues surrounding computer-based performance monitoring (CBPM) in the

workplace. Her conclusion was that any investigation of ethical monitoring is inadequate if it simply applies best practice guidelines to any one context.

EPM also has socio-ethical consequences and trust implications (McNall and Roch, 2009, cited in Perkins, 2013:12). Spitzmüller and Stanton (2006) report that worker compliance with monitoring seems to be linked to whether or not the organisation has an ethical climate that encourages diversity and tolerance, and whether the employee demonstrates strong commitment to the organisation. Of particular importance is whether employees feel their supervisor values their tasks (Ball and Margulis, 2011:114).

Danielson (2005:20) has developed some of the ethical issues raised by surveillance technology in the workplace, using a framework of informal game theory. His work focuses on how alternatives are structured by new electronic workplace surveillance technologies, raising new ethical issues. Moreover, ethics may play a key role in how EPM is experienced by individuals. In particular, knowledge of others' access to monitoring information (e.g. employees' ability to determine who is monitoring them) relates to the ethicality rule of justice (Leventhal, 1980), which dictates that procedures must be compatible with moral and ethical values. Silent EPM, when employees are unaware of who is monitoring them, is viewed as spying (Picard, 1994). Therefore, if employees are aware of who is monitoring them, they will perceive the monitoring system to be adhering to the ethicality rule (Cropanzano and Greenberg, 1997) Disclosure to employees of how frequently they are being monitored is critical to the success of EPM systems (Picard, 1994).

2.4 EPM and The Exercise of Authority

The literature also makes reference to the connection between EPM and power. Visibility, or the process of being watched, plays a key role in the implementation of EPM (Stanton and Stam, 2006). Houlihan (2000:236) maintains that call centre managers who use EPM constantly observe, check reports and analyse variances. Visibility is used in organisations to scrutinise the behaviour and performance of employees. Authors have characterised the act of observing employees in a variety of ways, for instance "Big Brother", "institutions of electronic surveillance" (Fernie and Metcalf, 1998), "customer-oriented or mass-customized information centres" (Frenkel et al., 1999) and Orwell's "Ministry of Truth" (Taylor and Bain, 1999). Hingst (2006:2) claims that:

> *visibility is a trap ... Each individual is securely confined to a cell from which he is seen from the front by the supervisor; but the side walls prevent him from coming into contact with his companions. He is seen but does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication ... this invisibility is the guarantee of order ... there are no disorders, no theft, no coalitions, none of those distractions that slow down the rate of work, make it less perfect ... power should be visible and unverifiable.*

Some contend that visibility is connected with panoptic power (Fernie and Metcalf, 1998; Foucault, 1979; Zuboff, 1989; Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992). Dandeker (1990:25) claims that "panopticism" is a system for ensuring the automatic operation of power. In

the early 1990s, the panopticon was perceived as an electronic workplace application, a control device habitually utilised by management as an essential component of just-in-time (JIT) and total quality management (TQM) production systems (Bain and Taylor, 2000:4). The spread of ICT has enhanced the possibility of technological/informative monitoring and has allowed forms of control of panoptic proportions (Fernie and Metcalf, 1998). The panopticon is a means of creating subjectification. Subjectification identified with disciplinary power operates primarily by enhancing the "calculability" of individuals (Clegg, 1998:35).

2.4.1 Taylorisation and Bureaucratisation

It is also argued in the literature that organisations such as call centres are built on the principles of Taylor's scientific management. Call centre work is frequently described as the "neo-Taylorism" of service activities (D'Alessio and Oberbeck, 2002). Just as many manufacturing organisations are moving away from scientific management and the production-line approach to workforce management, service organisations, and especially call centres, seem to be eagerly embracing this model. Jobs are narrowly constructed, contingent labour is used extensively, and work is mentally and physically demanding. Taylor and Bain (1999) make this comparison more explicit and draw attention to the intensive control systems applied in most call centres, pointing to the widespread monitoring and measurement of calls and the scripting and standardisation of customer service (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:5). Russell (2006:96) characterises work in call centres as an "assembly line of the head", where conformity to key quantitative performance indicators inevitably leads to work disaggregation, intensification and process standardisation – the hallmarks of scientific management. The integration of

telephone and computer technologies, which defines the call centre, has produced new developments in the Taylorisation of white-collar work (Taylor and Bain, 1999:115).

The underlying premise is that call centre environments are an extension of "Taylorist" approaches (Taylor and Bain, 1999:115). The efficiency characteristics of classical management theory, which emerged in the early twentieth century primarily under the umbrella of "scientific management", address quantitative aspects of organisational effectiveness. For example, ACD and its associated techniques are similar to the objectivism idealised in Taylor's scientific management (Winiecki, 2004:86). Taylor's scientific management, which emphasised the importance of work methods to enhance worker productivity by breaking down work into individual tasks, may seem archaic today, yet it is often considered as a foundation for the study of organisational efficiency (Wren, 2004). Managers in twenty-first-century call centres seem to have embraced the principles of scientific management in order to achieve optimal productivity from their call centre employees (Bain et al., 2002). In this context, employees are perceived as a measurable entity with identifiable physical and mental traits that must be manipulated by management to fit the requirements of production (Braverman, 1974:124).

Moreover, there is a view that call centres are built on bureaucratic elements. Call centre workers appear to occupy "low discretion" and "low trust" roles, while management holds a high level of "technical", "detailed" and "bureaucratic" control (Koskina, 2006:171). Deery and Kinnie (2002:6) describe the management of call centres as "mass customized bureaucracy", while Korczynski (2002) refers to this approach as "customer oriented bureaucracy". A number of social theorists have argued that monitoring in call centres is replacing bureaucratisation as the driving force in the rationalisation of

everyday work (Bogard, 2012; Lyon, 1994; Raven, 1993; Sewell, 1998). The use of EPM in call centres has created an environment in which practices are built largely on rationalising elements (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:3). Callaghan and Thompson (2001:13), argue that management in call centres has developed a new form of structural control. They extend and modify Edwards' (1979) concept of technical control and combine it with bureaucratic control, which influences the social structure of the workplace. Reed (1999:46) suggests that bureaucratic control is giving way to a new control regime ideally suited to the dynamic, shifting and uncertain world in which contemporary organisations must operate – panopticon control. While bureaucratic control is obtuse, static and rigid, surveillance control is sharply focused, mobile and flexible. Only the latter is appropriately equipped to provide the simultaneous "tight loose" control processes and practices required by the new regime of globalised capitalist accumulation (Reed, 1999:53). Post-Fordist monitoring of production processes may actually be more complex and somewhat differently intentioned than mere electronic Taylorism, and may result in more extensive and intensive surveillance of individual workers (Bryant, 1995). The very principles of Taylorism have become intensified, extended and increasingly automated through the application of new technologies (Webster and Robins, 1993:248).

To be visible in this way evokes a sense of vulnerability and powerlessness (Zuboff, 1984:344). Fernie and Metcalf (1998, cited in Hingst, 2006:2) contend that in call centres agents are constantly visible and the supervisor's power through the computer monitoring screen has been "rendered perfect" and therefore does not actually have to be used. However, this argument does not ring entirely true, and observations of the call centre's likeness to the panopticon may have been "grossly overdrawn" (Frenkel et al.,

1998:967). Bain and Taylor (2000:6) claim that a careful reading of Fernie and Metcalf's (1998) research findings demonstrate profound flaws in the argument that the electronic panopticon has perfected supervisory power. In only two locations could the panopticon be said to apply even theoretically, and here the evidence is weighted conclusively against the presence of dominating regimes of surveillance. Moreover, there is ample evidence of continuing employee resistance, which raises a final methodological problem. Fernie and Metcalf (1998:10) rely exclusively on "documentary evidence, detailed questionnaire, lengthy semi structured interview and observation of working methods" from management sources. Despite claiming to have talked to employees, no evidence is presented, and consequently the perspective is clearly uncritically managerial in character, with the experience of agents in these "carceral regimes" wholly undocumented. The silence of the agents seems to confirm, for Fernie and Metcalf (1998), the assumption that they are passive subjects (Bain and Taylor, 2000:6). If the experiences of many thousands of call centre agents resemble those of the panopticon, the last thing they need to be told is that there is nothing they can do about it. Hence, the panopticon must be challenged, and this perspective should not be taken for granted. People may, in fact, be able to resist this type of power system (Bain and Taylor, 2000:17). Managers of call centres would certainly be surprised to discover that they exercise total control over the workforce (Bain and Taylor, 2000:115). If the subject is perfectly docile and compliant, then there is perfect surveillance, which is rarely the case (Ball, 2009:640).

2.4.2 Coercion

It is often assumed that organisations use EPM for coercion (Sewell and Barker, 2006). In other words, EPM is used in such a way as to intimidate individuals to obey the rules. Almost all previous studies have characterised the experience of surveillance as one of oppression, coercion, ambivalence or ignorance (Koskela, 2003; McGrath, 2004). It is argued that electronic monitoring is an efficient method of exercising coercive forms of punishment. Monitoring is exercised intentionally in order to force individuals to work according to standards, through the deployment of administrative practices and mechanisms associated with information management, behavioural control and normalising judgment (Reed, 1992:294).

However, such coercion is a subtle process, rather than being imposed directly on individuals. The central strategies of disciplinary power are observation, examination, measurement and the comparison of individuals against an established norm, bringing them into a field of visibility. This power is exerted not primarily through direct coercion or violence, but rather by persuading subjects that certain ways of behaving and thinking are appropriate. The exercise of power is lighter and more effective, leading to subtle coercion (Elmer, 2012:25).

2.4.3 Manipulation

EPM may also be used to manipulate people. Organisations may seek to manipulate their employees emotionally and personally to get the job done (Ball, 2009:642). Manipulation arises from inevitable issues of power under surveillance, because surveillance captures and creates different versions of life as lived by surveilled subjects (Boyne, 2000, cited in Ball, 2007:583). These new techniques of subjection have led to

changes in the treatment of the body, which has become a target to be manipulated, exercised in correct movements and available for the imposition of ever more knowledge. Thus subjugated, the individual functions as obedient, docile and willing flesh (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998:133). Ball (2007:580) suggests that manipulation is one of the most important aspects connected with surveillance, and takes place when elements of the surveillance network are regulated and affect power relations. In the workplace, electronic systems of surveillance and monitoring may be used to control and manipulate workers' behaviour and job performance through their own self-monitoring and discipline (Zirkle and Staples, 2005:80). Rooksby and Cica (2005:243) claim that electronic surveillance is morally wrong when it is used by employers or managers to facilitate coercive or manipulative changes to workers' values insofar as this involves an attempt to undermine or distort their personal autonomy. They consider electronic surveillance to be an apparatus for the manipulation of workers' values.

2.4.4 Oppression

There is also some debate in the literature over the association of surveillance systems with oppression (Sewell and Barker, 2008). Technologies, organisations and governments involved in surveillance are portrayed as seamlessly efficient and oppressive, with the potential to cause harm on a grand scale (Ball, 2009:640). According to Vaz and Bruno (2003:279) oppression creates subjects who judge and condemn their "own acts, intentions, desires and pleasures" according to "truths" that are historically produced. Suffering of the soul is not a result of repressed consciousness, but of guilt or "bad consciousness" when moral failure is experienced.

EPM is also associated with abusive supervision. EPM may lead supervisors and managers to exercise stricter discipline, which is perceived by subordinates as abusive. According to Tepper (2000:178), abusive supervision refers to subordinates' perceptions of supervisors engaging in sustained displays of hostile verbal and nonverbal behaviours, excluding physical contact. Studies have shown that abusive supervision is usually linked to psychological rather than physical abuse (Duffy, Henle and Schurer-Lambert, 2006:101) which negatively influences subordinates' work-related attitudes and psychological health (Tepper, 2000:179). Abusive supervision may lead individuals to experience aggression under EPM. LeBlanc and Barling (2004:10) claim that workplace surveillance increases the risk of employee aggression toward supervisors, but not toward subordinates or peers. It has been found that employees who feel over-controlled by a supervisor have an increased tendency to engage in supervisor-targeted aggression (Day and Hamblin, 1964; Dupré and Barling, 2002). Use of surveillance methods to monitor employees' behaviour also raises the likelihood of supervisor-targeted aggression (LeBlanc and Barling, 2004:10). However, EPM may be used not only by managers to manipulate employees, but also by subordinates to manipulate the system. Workers who perceive surveillance practices as an intensification and extension of control are likely to try to subvert and manipulate the boundaries of when, where and how they are measured (Ball, 2010:94).

2.4.5 Role of Supervisor in EPM

The role of the supervisor is another issue identified in the literature as relevant to EPM (Kulik and Ambrose, 1991). The productivity of individuals and groups at work is generally assumed to be due in part to the quality of the supervision and leadership they

receive. Guided by this assumption, researchers have long sought to identify specific supervisory and leadership behaviours that contribute to managerial effectiveness (Larson and Callahan, 1990:530). Brewer and Ridgway (1998:212) observe that supervisory monitoring in an organisational context has typically involved employees working at least partly in the presence of a supervisor. Historically, employers monitored work activities on the floor to maintain control over the production process. However, supervisory monitoring in many organisations has now been replaced by technological monitoring. As EPM systems evolve, there is less and less need for a supervisor to monitor employee behaviour (Amick and Smith, 1992:9-10). As a result of CPM, the supervisor is removed from the monitoring process and the computer becomes the supervisor, providing feedback automatically (Amick and Smith, 1992:9-10).

Ball and Margulis (2011:121) maintain that supervisory behaviours have been shown to have an impact on individual responses to monitoring and are also critical in social and meaning-making processes surrounding monitoring. Similarly to employees, supervisors may also be monitored by EPM systems. Middle managers may be both observers of their staff and observed by those above them in the organisational chart. For example, plant managers and bank branch managers who have previously experienced high levels of autonomy in their work, and who use electronic techniques to monitor their workers, may find themselves observed through those same electronic systems by divisional or head-office executives in remote locations (Bryant, 1995).

As mentioned above, supervisors working in a surveillance environment may take advantage of their power to an extent that might be considered abusive (Tepper et al., 2006), leading to a variety of negative feelings, absenteeism and turnover. Tepper

(2000:186) found that subordinates whose supervisors were abusive reported higher turnover, less favourable attitudes toward job, life and organisation, greater conflict between work and family life, and greater psychological distress. Keashly, Trott and MacLean (1994, cited in Tepper, 2000:179) have found that non-physical abuse occurs more frequently than physical violence and that individuals who experience more supervisory abuse are less satisfied with their jobs. Hence, employees regard abusive supervision as a source of injustice that affects their attitudes and wellbeing (Tepper, 2000:186). Managers and supervisors must ensure that monitoring processes are both distributively and procedurally just (Ball, 2001). In call centres, monitoring is introduced predominantly to find and detect fault. Therefore, supervisors have a critical role to play in delivering highly quantified and tightly defined constructive performance feedback. Studies of supervisors' use of power indicate a tendency for monitoring to focus supervisors on problems and threats rather than on successes and empowerment, leading them to adopt a coercive supervisory style (Smith, Cohen and Stammerjohn, 1981). However, if this rises to the level of worker abuse, it may be damaging (Ball and Margulis, 2011:119).

Similarly to employees, managers working in call centres may feel accountable and responsible for their actions and behaviours. These feelings are influenced by the social order and norms surrounding them. Taylor and Bain (1999:15) argue that "In the drive to maximize profits and minimize costs, call centre employers are under constant competitive pressure to extract more value from their employees." Call centre technologies mean that managers must motivate and manage performance in a highly pressurised and potentially monotonous work process. A call centre study by Houlihan

(2006:152) revealed that managers "walk the tightrope" between power and powerlessness, experiencing challenges to their upward strategic influence, yet pressure to deliver and implement policy downwards, manage the floor and control agent performance. At the same time, these frontline managers are most closely connected to the customer interface. As keyholders of the institutional knowledge base, they are expected to support and protect the various interests of agent, customer and organisation (Houlihan, 2006:154). Managers who have themselves worked as agents tend to have a keen understanding of the pressures absorbed by agents, which sometimes leads them to struggle with the formal system within which they are required to work (Houlihan, 2006:162). However, they remain accountable for performance, necessitating a certain distancing from such sympathies. Focusing on the business is an effective way of reconciling conflicting emotions (Houlihan, 2006:162). Managers are charged with responsibility and thus accountability for their actions, but more particularly the collective actions of their staff.

2.4.6 The Significance of Control

Control plays a major role in the EPM setting (Smith and Amick, 1989:275). Control means having an impact on one's conditions and activities in correspondence with a goal. Task control refers to the possibility of making decisions regarding goals to be achieved, planning the sequence of activities to be performed and processing feedback information. Time control refers to both when and for how long a certain task is performed (Zapf et al., 1999:377). Sewell (1998:4) raises the issue of control in teamwork, claiming that teamwork involves not only issues of obedience but also how

knowledge becomes rationalised and how team activities are normalised around new knowledge.

Stanton and Barnes-Farrell (1996) found that participants who were able to delay or prevent the introduction of EPM had greater feelings of personal control than those who could not. Furthermore, Stanton (2000) has found that EPM control affects perceptions of fairness, while Eddy, Stone and Stone-Romero (1999) have found that control of decisions over disclosure of information has a direct effect on such perceptions (Zweig and Webster, 2002:609). Varca (2006:290) studied the role of perceived control in reducing strain associated with telephone surveillance among service representatives, finding that perceived control is a key element in understanding the negative effects of surveillance. Sewell and Wilkinson (1992) argue that the introduction of surveillance in processes such as JIT and TQM are based largely on detailed control. Electronic surveillance is fundamentally a new and successful model of control. Rose and Wright's (2005:136) exploration of factors relating to control and other work-based characteristics that impact on employee wellbeing in call centres reveal that control is a significant aspect influencing job satisfaction. Call centres are characterised primarily by control relationships rather than by skills and related dimensions. As with many other organisational innovations, call centre workplaces present an assortment of old, new and complex challenges concerning the management of the employment relationship (Rose and Wright, 2005:137).

Furthermore, the form of control changes over time. Callaghan and Thompson (2013:13) argue that call centre managements have developed a new form of structural control which draws heavily on Edwards' (1979) concept of technical control, extended,

modified and combined with bureaucratic control, influencing the social structure of the workplace. Contrary to Edwards, such systems are not distinct; rather, they are blended together in a process of institutionalising control. The rationale for this is partly to camouflage control – to contain conflict by making control a product of the system rather than provoking direct confrontation between management and workers. Control is therefore established through technology, and this is strengthened and expanded through the use of bureaucratic control in shaping the social and organisational structure of the workplace (Callaghan and Thompson, 2013:13).

This view relates to the argument that control is often associated with power. Ball and Wilson's (2000:540) examination of CBPM in two UK financial services organisations concluded that the connection between power, control and resistance is important in explaining reactions to this type of electronic monitoring, which may lead to behavioural control. Spitzmüller and Stanton (2006:245) propose that organisational commitment, organisational identification and attitudes towards surveillance predict intentions, while relationships between attitudes and intentions are moderated by employees' perceived behavioural control and social norms. Houlihan's (2000:228) central concern is to explore the underlying assumptions of call centre design and management and to establish whether or to what extent information systems are constructed as means of learning or of behavioural control. When behavioural control is a primary goal, this introduces a climate of resistance, further inflated by the culture of measurement and enforcement that is likely to ensue (Houlihan, 2000:228). However, Koskela (2003) suggests that control seems to become dispersed, and the ethos of mechanistic discipline is replaced by flexible power structures.

Control also plays a role in the exercise of employee autonomy. Worker autonomy has been defined as "the control that workers have over their own work situation" (Brey, 1999:16). Valsecchi (2006:123) claims that popular images of teleworkers' autonomy, such as the "electronic cottage", paint unrealistic pictures of the control exercised over them, particularly since these are call centre operators working with highly integrated information and communication technology systems that facilitate pervasive forms of control. However, a study of Italian home-located call centre operators has demonstrated that extensive and multifaceted monitoring practices cannot "solve" the controversial issue of control (Valsecchi, 2006:123). The issue of privacy is also linked to control (Zweig, 2005:106). For instance, Stone and Stone (1990:358) define privacy as:

> *A state or condition in which the individual has the capacity to control the release and possible subsequent dissemination of information about him or herself.*

As implied by this definition of privacy and supported by research evidence, employees need to feel that they have some control over how their personal information is used and how the use of this information will influence outcomes such as performance ratings and distribution of rewards (Zweig, 2012:106).

Control through the use of EPM is implemented in a planned manner. Bond and Bunce (2003:1057) argue that the way in which control is realised depends on the level of acceptance and control of internal events. Acceptance requires a willingness to experience all psychological events (e.g. thoughts, feelings and sensations) without changing, avoiding or otherwise controlling them (Hayes, 1987; Hayes et al., 1996). Stanton and Barnes-Farrell (1996, cited in Zweig and Webster, 2002:609) found that

participants who knew exactly when they were being monitored expressed higher feelings of personal control.

Ball (2007:578) claims that the enactment of control involves governing behaviours and norms:

> *... to control a wider range of behaviour, from something which is simply illegal (governed by criminal law) to that which is governed by organization-specific, managerially defined behavioural and performance norms. Workers are measured according to their compliance with these norms (Ball, 2007:578).*

The type of control exercised under EPM is characterised by mechanisation. A climate is fostered whereby control is rendered possible via strict discipline and mechanisation of tasks (Lyon, 2007:27). In essence, EPM seeks to control not only individuals but groups of people simultaneously (Dandeker, 1990:37).

Call centres are workplaces in which telephones and computers are integrated and controlled by an expert system. Thus, work performance tends to be strictly controlled through a managerial strategy of "direct control" combined with "technical control" (Lindgren and Sederblad, 2006:190). Many call agents have little influence over their own work in terms of work-related resources such as job control, not only over the pace of work, such as time frame of task, succession and duration of actions, but also with regard to planning and organising their own work (Grebner et al., 2003:342).

Frenkel et al. (1999, cited in Deery and Kinnie, 2002:6) argue that the increasing complexity of work and the need to be more customer-focused present a direct challenge to the control model of workforce management. The control model is heavily remedial, reflecting the status quo of many call centres. It is rooted in standard measurement, monitoring, correction and short-term targeting. In this light, the call centre can be characterised as an intensification project. Routines are specific and detailed, and roles are restricted. Agent time is utilised to the maximum in pursuit of call coverage and achievement of shifting goals. When every action is prescribed, there is no ambiguity and little room for imagination, appropriation and development; when all processes are formalised, there is no space or "slack" in the system; when call service levels are the bottom line, even time away from the phones for meetings, training and coaching is under constant threat of erosion (Houlihan, 2000:238).

Rose and Wright's (2005:136) study of factors relating to control and other work-based characteristics that impact on employee wellbeing in call centres found that CSRs perceive themselves as victims at the "sharp end" of the extreme technological control of the "electronic panopticon", itself based on a "mass production of services". Control is facilitated through a combination of IT-generated data and the inculcation of cultural and informal norms, that is, by technical and normative means (Rose and Wright, 2005:145).

Call centres have not only been found to be stressful places of employment, but the work itself places significant demands on agents' ability to subjugate and control their own emotional responses during telephone contact with customers (Hingst, 2006:7). A German study involving 250 call agents in 14 call centres found that, after controlling

for age, sex, and education level, compared with people in similar but more traditional workplaces, such as administrative clerks and bank clerks, call agents had poorer working conditions in terms of task variability and complexity and lower job control, as well as more frequent psychosomatic complaints (Isic, Dormann and Zapf, 1999). Holman and Wall (2002) also found that low job control predicted depression among inbound call agents of a national UK bank in cross-sectional as well as longitudinal data. Furthermore, in a study of US teleservice centre representatives, lack of job control was associated with musculoskeletal disorders (Grebner et al., 2003:342).

In an early study of monitoring, Smith and Amick (1989) identified three kinds of employee control over monitoring: (1) instrumental control, where they are able to change aspects of the immediate environment; (2) discretionary control, where they are able to complete tasks autonomously; and (3) participatory control, where they have a say in the design of work. They argued that employee influence in these areas may combat stress. Varca (2006) demonstrated that workers are more likely to be stressed by a lack of control over the monitoring process than by the monitoring process itself. In this regard, previous research findings suggest that control over the introduction of monitoring is significant to workers (Stanton and Barnes-Farrell, 1996). Also, workers regard the use of sporadic, as opposed to continuous, monitoring as less "controlling" (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a). Stanton (2000) summarises two studies of participatory control (Pearson, 1991; Westin, 1992) that document its positive effects in terms of increased trust, constructive management-worker relationships and decreased stress levels (Ball and Margulis, 2011:117).

It has been suggested that job mobility and opportunities for exit may mitigate the stressful effects of monitoring. Job mobility manifests itself as a form of control or, as Callaghan and Thompson (2001) argue, offers employees the opportunity to "externalise" their resistance. Furthermore, Holman (2002) demonstrates that increased job control in a call centre setting results in decreased anxiety and depression and increased intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction. Bond and Bunce (2003) report that the beneficial effects of job control are enhanced for call centre employees, with higher levels of acceptance. Acceptance is also associated with better mental health and improved performance (Ball and Margulis, 2011:117).

Specific control strategies are applied in an EPM environment (Yar, 2003:268). Chalykoff and Kochan (1989) developed a model focusing on control strategies as explanatory (rather than dependent) variables that predict attitudes toward computer monitoring, job satisfaction and turnover propensity. Three major elements of control systems were used as predictor variables: performance appraisal, feedback/appropriateness of monitoring, and factors influencing turnover. They found that affective responses to and negative predispositions toward computer-aided monitoring were directly related to job satisfaction (Kidwell and Bennett, 1994:205). Direct control processes are used to influence individuals working under EPM. These largely use fear to achieve obedience, whereas consent is achieved through commitment. Both methods are highly manipulative and obscure (Deetz, 1998:167).

EPM, however, may not always influence individuals negatively. In a study carried out by Deery and Kinnie (2002:9) it was found that performance monitoring may be fairly widely accepted, although such acceptance is contingent on style of supervision. They

conclude that more than half of their respondents were satisfied or very satisfied with the methods of control used and three quarters said the controls helped them to work better.

2.4.7 The Disciplinary Characteristics of EPM

The issue of discipline in the workplace has been widely discussed in the EPM literature. Some researchers suggest that discipline is based on punitive elements as well as corrective techniques. Edwards (2001:320) traces the origin of discipline in organisations back to bureaucracy and the Industrial Revolution. Employers have always needed to ensure adequate performance of work tasks by employees. Formal rules became necessary when organisations became large and bureaucratic. Pollard (1965:181-9) has described the disciplinary problems of early industrial employers, when factories demanded regular attendance and the performance of tasks in a prescribed fashion. According to Henry's (1983:71) "consensus approach", such developments are characteristic of an authoritarian approach to discipline. Since the Second World War, organisations have become aware that punitive discipline has adverse effects on morale and efficiency; they have also faced pressure from trade unions, legal restrictions on their powers, and difficulties of recruitment in tight labour markets. As a result, disciplinary action has been used for correction rather than coercion, and the administration of policy has been based less on the absolute authority of the employer and more on a democratic approach (Edwards, 2001:320).

The rise of capitalism prompted the further development of discipline. Attewell (1987:88) argues that neo-Marxist theories of the labour process provide a contrasting framework for conceptualising issues of work discipline, surveillance and work pace.

Discipline was exerted through a continuous, uninterrupted process of supervision of the activities of the body according to arrangements that involved the partition of time, space and bodily movements (Dandeker, 1990:24). It was also achieved through the creation of timetables which excluded idleness by defining a division of labour and a regular programme of routines and education. Burrell (1998:18) suggests that there is an astonishing resemblance between prisons and other organisations of the "disciplinary age": hospitals, factories, housing estates, schools and barracks. Discipline soon comes to require a cellular system of locating and concentrating individuals in space, a timetable for activity, manuals for the correct movement of the body and a precise, economical system of command. Individuals become "cases" to be measured, described, evaluated, examined and compared (Burell, 1998:19).

Discipline is exercised in society as well as in businesses. New techniques of industrial management laid the groundwork for a new kind of society – a "disciplinary society" – in which bodily discipline, regulation and surveillance are taken for granted (Zuboff, 1984:319). For Edwards (2001:317), the core ideas in this context are: that the exercise of discipline is not a discrete activity to be equated with an event like a disciplinary hearing but is achieved continuously through rules and expectations in the very fabric of an organisation; that power is not a set capacity but is expressed in continuing relationships; and that new monitoring systems impose increasing disciplinary standards on employees (Edwards, 2001:317). Disciplinary society separates right from wrong, good from bad, and sick from healthy through surveillance and regulation (Weller, 2012:58). Hacking (1982) has shown how early modern organisations created circumstances under which individuals could become objects of scientific discourse and,

hence, subjects of disciplinary practice. These organisations could not function effectively unless people were measured, classified and normalised so as to identify those who were fit for office, fit for the military, or fit for work. Classifying people in this way – for example, as poor workers or good workers – helps to define those who are useful and exclude those who are not (Sewell, 1998:405). The reproduction of discipline is rendered possible by EPM databases. Poster (1990, cited in Ball and Wilson, 2000:542) notes that we are disciplined to interact with these databases through electronic language, thereby (re)producing their norms through discourse and practice.

Discipline, therefore, is largely equated with power. Elmer (2012:25) claims that discipline should not be identified either with an institution or with an apparatus: it is a type of power. Discipline comprises a set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application and targets. It is the "physics" or "anatomy" of power – a technology (Elmer, 2012:25). Savage (1998:77) illustrates this point with an example of monitoring in railways. The principle device by which railways attempted to monitor workers was through a classic form of surveillance, visual inspection. Railway companies were able to enforce strict rules and impose a harsh disciplinary regime (Savage, 1998:77).

There are three interrelated instruments of disciplinary power. First, hierarchical observation refers to sites such as schools and prisons where individuals can be observed. Secondly, normalising judgment involves the way in which the actions of individuals can be compared with others. The third, and most important, instrument of discipline, which combines both hierarchical observation and normalising judgment (Nettleton, 1994:82) is where technologies, or mechanisms of disciplinary power, establish order through classifications (taxonomia) or through measurement (mathesis).

These technologies constitute systems of recording, classifying and measuring (Townley, 1998:194). Sewell (1998:411) describes discipline as the witting acceptance of a social force that rationalises organisational work to ensure normalised and controlled collective action; for example, "we do it because it is right/good/proper" and "we do it because the rules say so" (Sewell, 1998:411). This link between discipline and rationality is also brought into the workplace (Winiecki, 2004:85). Workers are not only disciplined by the labour process controlled by computer and phone systems, they are also brought into the rational mentality of management such that they become governed by it (Winiecki and Wigman, 2007:128).

EPM may also lead individuals to discipline each other. According to Torrington and Hall (1995:529-530), team discipline involves the mutual dependency of all and a "commitment by each member to the total organisation". Employees use data produced by such monitoring to identify free riders or those who are "letting the side down", which leads them to discipline each other accordingly. For example, Barker (1993, cited in Sewell, 2012:307) observed that team members who had previously relied on subjective judgments of each other's work behaviour began to create more formal standards of performance by resorting to information about factors such as attendance and punctuality, even if the reason for absence or lateness involved important personal commitments outside the workplace. In call centres, a range of disciplinary apparatus is involved in "objectivising" subjective values and desires. Most of these are linked to the communication technology system inherent in the contemporary call centre, and are typically applied in the context of systems of individual and group evaluation, management decision making and, in some cases, punishment of the call centre agent

(Winiecki, 2004:82). In a study of ACD, it was found that such systems are used extensively by management to discipline subjects in call centres (Winiecki, 2004:84). Subjective measurement practices and inscription systems are rendered objective and used by call centres as a basis on which to make decisions that organise and discipline workers. Deery and Kinnie (2002:5) suggest that call centre work may either involve investment in training and development and supportive supervision and teamwork, or it may rely on individualised pay systems, insecure jobs and workplace discipline.

For discipline to be applied effectively, the rules must be clear. Accordingly, most procedures specify types of conduct which are likely to trigger disciplinary action. Hopper and Macintosh (1998:138) maintain that each individual is constantly seen, examined, categorised, rated, ranked, sanctioned and normalised. Workers are disciplined for deviation from norms (Ball, 2007:578). This is the case for call centre employees who have little control over work pacing, system speed or task design and yet may be disciplined if the system indicates that they are not complying with agreed standards (Ball, 2010:98). Through this form of discipline, organisations are able to exercise centralised control more effectively (Lyon, 1994:38). Discipline exercised through the use of EPM is directly connected with punishment. In particular, discipline enabled by surveillance makes disobedience unthinkable. In a "total surveillance" society:

> *there would be but a single system of surveillance and control and its clientele would consist of everyone ... Any sign of disobedience – present or anticipated – would result in corrective action. The fact that the system keeps everyone under*

> *constant monitoring means that in the event of misbehavior, apprehension and sanctioning would occur immediately. By making detection and retaliation inevitable such a system would make disobedience unthinkable* (Rule, 1973:37, cited in Norris and Armstrong, 1999:6).

However, a number of problems arise in the connection between power, control and discipline. The rationalisation of discipline should not be exaggerated. Edwards (2001:326) states that simple "hire and fire" was far from universal in the nineteenth century, rates of disciplinary action have not fallen as fast as might be expected, firms continue to ignore their own disciplinary procedures and, as a study by Rollinson et al. (1997) confirms, workers subject to discipline do not see the process as simply one of correction. Punitive and corrective aspects are intertwined, and traditional modes of discipline remain common (Edwards, 2001:326). The issue of control, for example, has been criticised as being one-sided because the majority of arguments create an image of "total control". Such analysis does not consider the internal complexities of workers, such as their ability to resist such methods of control and their option of moving to another job (Valsecchi, 2006:124).

Moreover, fully adopting the Foucauldian philosophy of the panopticon may be misleading (Haggerty, 2006). Bain and Taylor (2000:16) claim that those fascinated by the panopticon perspective, following a superficial reading of Foucault, are reacting to other influences and may have fallen for an "old-fashioned dose of technological determinism". They make the mistake of believing that, because the software claims to be able to perform miracles of monitoring, complete managerial control will inevitably

result. This is a superficial view which ignores the complexities of managerial practice and the contested nature of the employment relationship. It also eliminates subjectivity. In treating call centre agents as passive, or active only insofar as they internalise the supervisor's exercise of discipline and control, latter-day Foucauldians reflect a much wider disillusionment with the potential for worker self-activity (Bain and Taylor, 2000:16).

Thompson and Warhurst (1998:6) suggest that "it is as if contemporary management theory has produced its own dystopian offspring", with accounts emphasising "captured subjectivity and labour trapped in totalising institutions combined with new, oppressive forms of regulation and surveillance". This judgement would certainly seem to apply to Fernie and Metcalf (1998), who, like many, have been transfixed by Foucault's adaptation of Bentham's prison panopticon, seeing it as a metaphor for the domination of electronic surveillance in the contemporary organisation. In their study of payment systems, they quote extensively from Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, asserting that in call centres agents are constantly visible and the supervisor's power has indeed been "rendered perfect" via the computer monitoring screen, and therefore its actual use is unnecessary (Taylor and Bain, 1999:102). However, recognition of the existence of extensive mechanisms of surveillance, unprecedented in white-collar work, should not mean acceptance of the electronic panopticon perspective. The achievement of perfect supervisory power is demonstrably false on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Simon (2005:1) questions why Foucault initially focused so much on the supervisor's capacity to organise time and space and generate knowledge, when the point of the panoptic machine is that power may function perfectly well without supervisory

presence. More specifically, if the mere threat of the supervisor's (or anyone else's) vision is sufficient to induce conformity, why should the supervisor bother to look, let alone collect any data (Simon, 2005:1)?

Monitoring may not necessarily be damaging. Koskela (2012:54) argues that, while surveillance remains threatening in many contexts, an increasing number of people are intrigued by surveillance dynamics that extend beyond issues of social control. While there is a fascination in looking, it is also important to acknowledge the exhibitionist thrill of being seen. A potential reason for this development may be that people are weary of being passive targets of ever-increasing surveillance and instead are seeking to play a more active role in producing, circulating and consuming visual material. In doing so, they operate as surveillance subjects rather than mere objects of the gaze (Koskela, 2012:54). Norris and Armstrong (1999:91) argue that, just because CCTV systems use visual surveillance and rely on centralised monitoring, this should not lead to the automatic assumption that it is identical in its operation and effects. The extent to which CCTV produces an "automatic functioning of power" is questionable. This automatic functioning requires that those subject to surveillance are aware of it. However, research into the impact of CCTV in a number of areas has shown that many of those using city centre streets are oblivious of the cameras (Norris and Armstrong, 1999: 91-92).

Work organisations tend not to be total institutions (Ball and Wilson, 2000). The microphysics of power may well be present in work organisations and at times may dominate, but the fact that it is present does not make the work organisation a panopticon. This thesis argues that surveillance is an organising principle that has

developed alongside modern bureaucracy. This is demonstrated in Beniger's (1986) work on the history of the US railway. Beniger argues that government surveillance is strengthened by the use of information technologies. He proposes that the American industrial revolution brought about a crisis of control due to the unprecedented rapidity of production and transportation across the country and around the world (Weller and Bawden, 2005:777):

> *Most bureaucratic innovation arose in response to the crisis in the railroads; by the late 1860s the large wholesale houses had fully exploited this form of control. Innovation in telecommunications (the telegraph, postal reforms, and the telephone) followed the crisis of control to distribution* (Beniger, 1986:432).

Beniger makes a strong case that surveillance technology was operating in a society which did not have the structure to support it, which brought about innovations in economic, technological and processing control. These innovations were the basis for the microprocessors, computers and digital technologies with which the USA, and most of the developed world, is now living (Weller and Bawden, 2005:777). Hence, Beniger suggests that surveillance should be studied as an everyday feature of organisational practice without resorting to sensationalism and over-theoretical references to Foucault.

2.5 Compliance and Resistance under EPM

The literature also makes reference to the how individuals remain passive or engage in acts of confrontation against EPM. Spitzmüller and Stanton (2006:245) note that, although the prevalence of employee monitoring and surveillance technologies is

increasing, very little research has explored the question of whether employees simply accept these systems (compliance) or enact strategies for resisting them. The absence of the worker and the role of resistance in the sociology of work and organisations was first highlighted by Thompson and Ackroyd (1995), who accepted that, while workplace opposition had changed, the worker had to be brought back into the employment relationship. They examined a wide range of workplace studies and redefined resistance as misbehaviour (Mulholland, 2004:710).

Similarly to society, EPM may lead individuals either to comply or resist in the workplace. Employees may hold certain beliefs and attitudes about organisational monitoring and surveillance, and intentions to comply or resist may relate to attitudes as well as social norms about these behaviours. Whether employees then enact compliance or resistance behaviours may depend upon intentions and control (Spitzmüller and Stanton, 2006:247). In a call centre environment, a worker performing a monitored task and the social processes surrounding the task provide a basis for integrating psychological and sociological research on work performance monitoring and surveillance. Compliance and resistance are among the most important foci of this subject (Ball and Margulis, 2011:113).

In particular, compliance with and resistance to employee monitoring are influenced by employee attitudes from both psychological and sociological perspectives. Psychological research suggests that employees' attitudes towards monitoring determine the likelihood of resistance or compliance. Spitzmüller and Stanton (2006), for example, demonstrate the power of personal beliefs about monitoring in determining compliance or resistance when individuals have sufficient control over their immediate environment

to act as they see fit. Of particular importance is whether employees feel their supervisor values their tasks (Ball and Margulis, 2011:116). Spitzmüller and Stanton (2006) have proposed a framework based on the theory of planned behaviour and ethical decision making to predict employees' intentions for compliance or resistance with monitoring system technology (MST). Once a social system has entrenched the need to avoid irregular behaviours in the minds of individuals, they will operate in such a way as to satisfy the expectations of the system. However, caution is required when discussing compliance and resistance. Mason et al. (2002:556) argue that the resistance/compliance binary is too blunt an analytic instrument to capture the richness of social relations.

With regard to compliance, there is an assumption that employees working under EPM are forced to comply with agreed standards, laws and instructions, and obey the norms prescribed by the EPM system. Workers are measured according to their compliance with these norms (Ball, 2007:579). Weller (2012:59) argues that contemporary developments in tools and technologies specifically designed to monitor, control and rationalise human activities lead to the experience of normalised conformity. Faced with uncertainty with respect to whether they are being watched, people begin to watch themselves. They behave as if they are being watched and are careful not to attract the anger of the imagined observer. Individuals thus conform to the explicit, and even implicit, rules of the organisation or department because they imagine they are being watched (Simon, 2005:5).

Norris and Armstrong (1999:92) suggest that the idea of the panopticon illustrates how the primary mechanism for inducing conformity is mental rather than physical. In the panopticon, because the certainty of detention and therefore intervention is so high,

inmates soon learn the futility of resistance and the necessity of conformity. In the panopticon metaphor, however, there is little explanation of why or how people may "resist" (Newton, 1994:893). The apparent passivity of Foucault's subjects, who seem to internalise behavioural repertoires, neglects any possible active role (Lyon, 2007:86). Accepting the view that the electronic panopticon totally dominates the workforce removes the possibility of collective organisation and resistance. This position coincides with a recent tendency in labour process theory, in which a preoccupation with individual subjectivity has obscured the importance of collective, trade union organisation as a more developed form of resistance (Taylor and Bain, 1999:133). Bain and Taylor (2000:16) strongly reject the crude transfer of the panopticon metaphor to the capitalist workplace. They suggest that worker resistance, union recruitment and serious challenge to managerial power, which occurred in their case study, may happen anywhere (Bain and Taylor, 2000:16).

Harper's (1995) study of employee compliance with organisational policies found that individuals' group membership, social norms within groups, workgroup identification and participation in the implementation of the monitoring system are precursors to compliance with a monitoring policy (Spitzmüller and Stanton, 2006:246). Worker compliance with monitoring seems to be linked to whether the organisation has an ethical climate that encourages diversity and tolerance, and whether the employee demonstrates strong commitment to the organisation (Ball and Margulis, 2011:115).

EPM may lead individuals to be silent in the workplace. When monitored, individuals may well seek to break circuits of knowledge, information and threat by not giving up information in an age where it is a highly valued commodity (Ball, 2010:99). People

may act as passive subjects in order to avoid reprimand, and agents' silence appears to confirm that they are passive subjects (Bain and Taylor, 2000:6). In an EPM context, employees will comply with agreed standards and conform to the rules of the technological structure in order to avoid punishment.

In terms of conformity, employees working under EPM are forced to exercise what Norris and Armstrong (1999:6) call "anticipatory conformity". This form of conformity appears both in EPM and in social settings (Norris, 1997). Through anticipatory conformity, individuals force themselves to comply with the social order and strive to become part of a cultural group (Norris, 1997). Zuboff (1989:345, cited in Bryant, 1995) claims that anticipatory conformity is experienced when individuals co-operate fully in order to reduce "the risk of unwanted discovery". Ball (2010:93) suggests that the form monitoring takes conveys messages about the importance of quality over quantity and the importance of working as a team. This may produce anticipatory conformity, where employees behave in a docile and accepting way, and automatically reduce the amount of commitment and motivation they display.

Resistance, however, is also apparent in a call centre environment. Drawing on evidence from a telecommunications call centre, Bain and Taylor (2000:2) analyse the significance of emerging forms of employee resistance. Valsecchi (2006:124) postulates that the call centre sector exhibits high labour turnover and absenteeism, and a segmented and diverse workforce, often working under different contracts of employment. Such a workforce may create problems in terms of commitment to the workplace, and issues of control and resistance. Workers' resistance to and negotiation with managerial prescriptions are quite common in this environment (Valsecchi,

2006:124); in many call centres electronic monitoring induces control but also resistance (Bain and Taylor, 2000). The company dictates the length of operators' work days and the length and ocurrence of their breaks, and controls adherence to these strict rhythms through electronic monitoring (Valsecchi, 2006:132). In a study by Townsend (2005:47), a number of call centre employees individually and cooperatively resisted the controls of the electronic surveillance system. However, this did not occur in all teams in the case study. One team was faced with a labour process that directed their resistance toward the management of the call centre, rather than at management via the machine. Winiecki and Wigman's (2007:118) ethnographic study of call centre work indicates that organisational "truth" claims about workers are produced in a constellation of architectural, technological and managerial apparatus. Workers orient to and reify the power of these claims, even when resisting (Winiecki and Wigman, 2007:118).

Mulholland (2004:709) examined workplace conflict in an Irish call centre, criticising managerial and post-structural accounts of resistance for failing to see that workplace conflict continues to be located in structural issues, such as the employment relationship, which make pay, productivity and work intensification a source of conflict (Mulholland, 2004:709). In a call centre environment, agent, manager and organisation become defensive and a common outcome is a destructive crisis of trust that has troublesome implications for the capacity to learn (Houlihan, 2000:228).

Bain and Taylor (2000) found that invasive monitoring led employees to identify and exploit the weaknesses of monitoring systems. Deutsch-Salamon and Robinson (2002) found misbehaviour (e.g. property and production losses) to be more prevalent when electronically-monitored employees did not trust management. By comparison, Grant

and Sumanth (2009) found that the performance of fundraisers working in call centres and their motivation to benefit others was moderated by the perceived trustworthiness of their managers. A perceived lack of fairness in monitoring, therefore, may cause undesirable negative employee reactions such as withdrawal, resignation or some other form of diminished organisational citizenship (Johnston and Cheng, 2002:6). Sewell and Barker (2006) cite four studies involving reverse surveillance as a form of resistance. Reverse surveillance involves using information collected from monitoring to turn the tables on management, such as forcing management to adhere to the same performance standards as imposed on subordinates (Ball and Margulis, 2011:116). Agents may deliberately redirect calls to other service operators, enter misleading activity codes into the system or simply hang up on offensive customers (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:10). Mulholland (2004:719) claims that workers use traditional patterns of resistance such as work avoidance, which they collectively describe as "smokin' an' leavin'". Smoking is an established custom and practice, providing an opportunity for an extra break, regardless of whether or not people smoke, ensuring that working patterns are broken up by regular intervals of "idle time" (Mulholland, 2004:719).

Holman (2005:124) argues that research on call centres tends to portray CSRs as passive figures simply responding to work conditions. In contrast, studies inspired by labour process theory have illustrated CSRs' active consent to, compliance with and resistance to managers' efforts to control their work. However, despite managers' best efforts, CSRs may not consent to managerial control practices. They may have different ideas about how a call centre should be run and are likely to resist practices viewed as damaging (Holman, 2005:124). Bain and Taylor (2000:2) provide evidence on employee

resistance in a telecommunications call centre, where call centre agents disregarded the organisation's scripted conversational rules, searched for weaknesses in the firm's control systems and constructed free spaces for themselves "which provided an amnesty from normal emotional labours".

Studies of call centres demonstrate that intense surveillance increases resistance, sabotage and non-compliance with management (Ball, 2010:94). Research into the "dark side" of organisational behaviour has determined that employee sabotage is usually a reaction by disgruntled employees to perceived mistreatment (Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1335). They work their way around surveillance by manipulative measures such as dialling through call lists, leaving lines open after the customer has hung up, pretending to talk on the phone, providing a minimal response to customer queries and misleading customers (Ball, 2010:94).

2.6 EPM and Productivity

2.6.1 Abnormanity and EPM

The literature also discusses the relationship of EPM with employee productivity. Holman, Chissick and Totterdell (2002:75) state that increasing efforts to regulate behaviour means that more cognitive resources will be devoted to the task at hand. Therefore, people are taught to interpet situations rationally in various ways (Winiecki, 2004:82). The objectification rendered possible by EPM systems condems abnormal behaviour. People are forced to express appropriate emotions which are in accordance with the social work environment. Expressing appropriate emotions during face-to-face or voice-to-voice interactions is a job demand for many employees in service industries, particularly in call centre jobs (Zapf et al., 2003:314). Hingst (2006:2) argues that the

aim is to avoid disorder. In a call centre, a person is seen but does not see; he/she is the object of information, never a subject in communication; there are no disorders, no theft, no coalitions, none of the distractions that slow down the rate of work or make it less perfect (Hingst, 2006:2-3). In essence, employees working under EPM are forced to act rationally according to the norms of the environment (Ball, 2002:578). If a behavioural norm emerges in reality, it is reinforced by the fact that no one wants to be outside it (Hacking, 1990:5). Individuals fear potential abnormality, not only in others but also in themselves, and thus refrain from doing what might characterise them, in their own eyes, as abnormal (Vaz and Bruno, 2003:278).

EPM is based on rational bureacratic elements. Today's employee supervision and monitoring may be more sophisticated, but it builds on rationalising trends of the past few centuries (Lyon, 2007:35). The modern business exists as a presumedly rational assemblage of rules and systems (Hoskin and Macve, 1994, cited in Winiecki, 2004:82). Several social theorists have argued that surveillance is replacing bureaucratisation as the driving force in the rationalisation of everyday life and work (Zirkle and Staples, 2005:80). Bureaucratic administration means domination through knowledge, making it rational (Weber, 1978:255). Weller (2012:59) claims that individual surveillance was initially discrete, but new technologies have increasingly encouraged not only more rationalisation but also the intensification of surveillance. More contemporary developments in tools and technologies are specifically designed to control and rationalise human activities. There is a desire to direct behaviour through the imposition of a totalising and instrumental rationalism (Sewell, 1998:403). Social forces may affect the subjectivity of individuals, often based on particular systems of instrumental

knowledge that rationalise human behaviour to render people compliant, docile and useful (Sewell, 1998:404).

For example, in call centres, the rationalising force is not only external, continuous and conveniently declared objective; agents also become independent judges of their own "data" and, when compliant with the organisation's subjectification of them, act to govern their own conduct relative to the rationalising gaze (Winiecki, 2004:85). Ratings of work quality obscure its essential subjectivity and reify the categories in which it is produced, producing a subjectivity-writ-objective that, in turn, produces a social definition of work that facilitates and reifies rational management decisions and practices (Winiecki, 2004:87). Hence, "rational actors" are constructed in order to meet the expectations of the socio-technological system (Lupton, 2000:108). The centralisation of functions has enabled firms to rationalise the work process through the extensive use of information and communication technologies, thereby maximising the use of service workers' time (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:3). Call centres are the result of a modern rationalisation process, but that does not mean that all people working in call centres lack variety and control over their work (Dormann and Zijlstra, 2010:306). Knowing that they are being watched, they deal rationally with EPM according to their moral upbringing in society (Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1338).

Nevertheless, there is a gap in the literature concerning the role of rationality in the experience of self-discipline. Perhaps, people are not aware that they discipline themselves. Not all people may react in a rational manner towards EPM. This thesis aims to find out more information regarding the ways in which individuals consciously or unconsciously exercise self-discipline, when managing their emotions.

2.6.2 Performance Standards

EPM plays a significant role in the performance and productivity of an organisation or department (Schleifer, 1992:4). It allows managers and employees to set reasonable productivity goals, reward high achieving employees, and more quickly identify problems as a result of more objective, accurate and timely information available to managers and employees (Panina and Aiello, 2005:270).

Wright (1992:11) claims that productivity is one of the main reasons cited by employers for introducing electronic surveillance and employee testing to the workplace. Employers believe that corporate survival demands continuous improvements in employee productivity. Errors, poor products and slow service hurt businesses. An estimated 50 to 80 per cent of annual losses are attributed to error and oversights by employees (Wright, 1992:12). Therefore, monitoring and testing to identify and correct these problems are considered sound management practices. Electronic monitoring is thought to be an effective technique for increasing employee productivity since it provides managers with information on rates of production and identifies problems impeding production and possible ways of improving efficiency (Brewer, 1995; Higgins and Grant, 1989). It also enables management to supervise workers more effectively and to provide feedback on employee performance. Inadequate controls and procedures are considered "fundamental problems all organizations must guard against" (Wright, 1992:11). In an attempt to gain greater control over the work process and to ensure quality of product and service, employers seek the assistance of various electronic monitoring techniques.

Bates and Holton (1995:268) claim that there are two functionally distinct forms of electronic performance monitoring: CPM and service observation (Lund, 1992). CPM is a computer-based technology that automatically collects and records performance data about employees using computers or telecommunications equipment. The focus of CPM is on quantitative data such as production rates, error rates and time spent on tasks (Lund, 1989). By contrast, service observation is the practice of listening in on employees' conversations with customers to examine qualitative factors such as courtesy, correctness of information and employee attitudes (Lund, 1991). Whereas CPM continuously tracks performance over time, service observation is more likely to be random and discrete, is not automatic and is performed by a human supervisor rather than a computer (Bates and Holton, 1995:268).

Studies have found that electronically monitored workers are more productive when working on simple tasks and less productive when working on difficult tasks (Kolb and Aiello, 1996:408). However, as demand for productivity increases and latitude in decision making declines, EPM may transform ordinary jobs into high-stress positions (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a:340). Alder (2001:325) found that the customer satisfaction rate at General Electric increased to 96 per cent after it had implemented a telephone surveillance system for customer service calls. In addition, some workers have reported that EPM is an easy way to monitor their own output (Stanton and Julian, 2005:87). Aiello and Kolb (1995a) found that highly-skilled monitored participants keyed more entries than highly-skilled non-monitored participants. However, the opposite pattern was detected among low-skilled participants. Nebeker and Tatum (1993, cited in Alder, 2001:325) hired database operators to perform a data management task in a controlled

experiment. The results indicated that those who were aware that their performance was being recorded and were given performance feedback were more productive than workers who were either not monitored or were unaware that they were being monitored (Alder, 2001:325). Group cohesiveness under EPM may also influence the productivity of individuals. Aiello and Kolb (1995a:341) suggest that group cohesiveness may lead to either increases or decreases in productivity.

2.6.3 Performance Evaluation

In the most recent recent available statistics, EPM is used in the performance evaluation of approximately six million clerical office workers (OTA, 1987, cited in Schleifer and Shell, 1992:49). Increased use of monitoring technology helps managers to identify problems early on, to keep records that promote more accurate performance evaluations, and to reward high achievers (Stanton and Julian, 2002:87). Performance evaluation is a primary element in any EPM system. Amick and Smith (1992:9) maintain that feedback given to EPM workers is intended to act as guidance on and reinforcement of worker behaviours. New information technologies enable employers to gather and analyse highly detailed performance-related data, not just about the work but about each individual worker – in many cases on a minute-by-minute basis and often without the employee necessarily being able to detect the "watching" (Bryant, 1995).

This emphasis on performance evaluation and productivity is achieved through constant monitoring. The fact that the system monitors everyone constantly means that, in the event of misbehaviour, apprehension and sanctioning will occur immediately (Schleifer and Shell, 1992). Rose (1994:63) has characterised this constant surveillance as an "inspection machine". Moreover, employees are subject to continuous management

scrutiny. Ball's (2009:642) study revealed that a strongly surveillant management process renders employees not only highly visible in terms of their performance, but also, at times, emotionally vulnerable, and their vulnerabilities are also subject to management scrutiny.

Performance in electronic monitoring is closely associated with quality of work. Grant, Higgins and Irving (1988, cited in Alder and Tompkins, 1997:263) compared the behaviour of monitored workers with that of unmonitored workers performing the same task in service sector work. It appears that some electronic monitoring systems may cause employees to perceive quantity as being the most important factor in work production (Stanton and Julian, 2002:87).

EPM ensures consistency in employee performance (Higgins and Grant, 1989). Through the electronic system all individuals are monitored in the same way so as to accomplish the same results (Zweig, 2005:115). However, employees frequently question the consistency of their employers' use of electronic monitoring to review their performance. A person being monitored electronically wants to know that all colleagues are monitored with the same consistency and intensity to ensure that monitoring procedures and the distribution of outcomes are fair. Thus, maintaining equity in the pervasiveness of monitoring is very important in EPM (Zweig, 2005:115).

2.6.4 Information and Knowledge Management

The literature suggests that knowledge or information collected through EPM may help enforce power more effectively (Gandy, 1993; Zureik, 2004). Simon (2005:5) terms this the "information infrastructure", and the nature of at least some computerised surveillance technologies permits a more extensive and, more importantly, intensive

degree of information gathering. The collection of performance information is carried out through the use of sophisticated information systems. Zuboff (1984:322) maintains that:

> *information systems that translate, record and display human behaviour can provide the computer age version of universal transparency with a degree of illumination that would have exceeded even Bentham's most outlandish fantasies ... They do not even require the presence of the observer* (Zuboff, 1984:322).

The EPM system provides feedback on employee performance which can be used to make improvements (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:235). Amick and Smith (1992:10) argue that the fundamental aspect of any EPM system is the feedback of information to supervisors and/or workers about performance, more immediately than a supervisor (Kidwell and Bennett, 1994:204). Eisenman (1986, cited in Alder, 2001:325) found that both monitored employees and their supervisors believe that EPM systems provide more objective data about performance than traditional forms of monitoring. Consistent with this research, Westin (1986:76) interviewed employees who said they were satisfied with their employer's monitoring system because they "wouldn't want to be dependent only on the subjective judgments of a supervisor, who might be someone you didn't get along well with" (Alder, 2001:325). For example, CPM may enhance the feedback process by increasing the immediacy and frequency with which performance information can be provided (Grant and Higgins, 1989, cited in Bates and Holton, 1995:270). CPM can provide a more accurate picture of performance based on the

system's ability to collect large amounts of quantitative data. This increased work behaviour information made available to employees via CPM may enhance their control over the production process (Bates and Holton, 1995:270).

Amick and Smith (1992:9) claim that when a performance monitoring system is established to collect information which workers consider relevant and pertinent to the evaluation of their capabilities and skills, then the system creates a more objective mechanism for promotion decisions from the workers' perspective. This type of monitoring system may offer a more objective assessment of a person's performance than supervisor ratings (Amick and Smith, 1992:9).

2.6.5 Time

Time also plays a central role in the implementation of EPM. For example, CPM is most commonly used in word processing, data processing and customer service jobs to measure productivity, accuracy and response times, and to track time spent on task or away from the computer terminal (Bates and Holton, 1995:268). EPM systems allow managers to determine at any moment throughout the day the pace at which employees are working, their log-in and log-off times, and even the amount of time spent on breaks (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a:339). Through the use of EPM, problems can be identified more quickly, with more objective, accurate and timely information available to managers and employees (Panina and Aiello, 2005:270). EPM has also been associated with JIT management (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992:277).

2.6.6 Correction and Adjustment

Through the use of EPM, organisations such as call centres are able to identify and correct mistakes made by employees. EPM identifies weak links in the system and tries to correct or eliminate them instantly (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998:138). EPM is used to monitor keystroke production and error rates in word processing and data entry tasks. In particular, the electronic system can identify acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, thus ensuring appropriate conduct (Charlesworth, 2003:221). As a result, an individual working under electronic monitoring strives for self-improvement in order to avoid making the same mistakes again ((Hopper and Macintosh, 1998).

Nonetheless, Rollinson et al. (1997, cited in Edwards, 2001:326) disagree with this view. They claim that workers subject to discipline do not see the process as simply one of correction. Punitive and corrective aspects are intertwined, and traditional modes of discipline remain common.

2.6.7 Learning the Rules of EPM

It is assumed that an emphasis on corrective action forces employees to learn the rules prescribed by the system. It defines the ways individuals separated what is proper, making it part of their subjectivity. Individuals working under EPM become aware that they cannot get away with mistakes, and seek to understand its guidelines (Schleifer and Shell, 2002:50). Koskela (2003:307) claims that there is no way to escape it; we just have to try to understand it. Learning plays a significant role in this process as it people are conditioned to follow procedures. A call centre study by Holman and Wall (2002:283) argues that, in an occupational context, learning reduces strain, while strain inhibits learning, and job control is an important precursor of both these relationships.

The EPM system defines the way in which individuals modify their behaviour when they are not performing according to standards (McKinlay, 2002:87). Agents are conditioned by the system to work in a more precise and accurate manner (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a:339).

Chapter 3: Emotions and Self-management in Call Centres

The objective of this chapter is to review the literature on emotions and self-management in call centres. More specifically, it discusses a variety of issues concerning the connection between emotions and emotional labour, the role of society and importance of subjectivity in EPM. At the end of this chapter, a summary of the literature review and research gaps are provided.

3.1 Emotions and Emotional Labour

3.1.1 Emotional Reactions to EPM

The literature refers to a connection between EPM and emotional labour. Research has shown that emotions play a key role in everyday business operations. Fineman (2007:1) claims that "all organizations are emotional arenas where feelings shape events and events shape feelings". Emotions "underpin, consciously or unconsciously, the coalitions, conflicts and negotiations that emerge ... They are part of the 'warp and weft' of work experiences and practices".

Although in the literature on emotions there is widespread agreement that emotions are important, what exactly constitutes emotion remains confusing (Oatley and Jenkins, 2001:xxii). Plutchik (1994:xiii) asserts that:

> *some of the bases for the confusions involved in studying emotions have been: ambiguities in the language of emotion, reluctance of many psychologists to study so subjective an experience, ethical limitations on laboratory research on*

> *emotions, existence of different historical traditions (theories) and lack of well-articulated theories in the field.*

Gray and Watson (2001:22) define emotions as having three components: (1) innate, biologically hard-wired systems that (2) promote the survival of the organism by (3) facilitating efficient, adaptive responses or reactions to changing environmental circumstances. They suggest that emotions can be understood by examining them in terms of duration, object, intensity, frequency, function and type (Gray and Watson, 2001:25). Stanley and Burrows (2001) state that emotion can be explained by examining the stages of an emotional response. They claim that emotion is experienced in the following way:

> *Detection of an eliciting event, change in basal arousal (orienting and preparing to respond), appraisal of the significance of the event (interpretation), emotional response consistent with the interpretation, subjective experience of the emotion, change in motivation, motivated behaviour and secondary appraisal of the significance of the response* (Stanley and Burrows, 2001:7).

Nevertheless, the experience of emotions is complicated, and a number of important issues must be taken into account when defining affect. For example, the social environment in which individuals live and work plays a key role in how they feel emotionally. This social environment may determine their bodily reactions to events (EPM), as well as conscious and unconscious emotional thoughts (Grosz, 1994; Harré, 1986; Lupton, 1998; Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). The experience of emotions is

not a rational process, but is unpredictable and may change at any moment. Emotion may thus contain both conscious and unconscious elements, based on the socio-cultural environment of individuals and their interactions since early childhood.

Surveillance is both a bodily experience and an emotional event (Ball, 2005). Surveillance as an emotional experience evokes a variety of feelings (Koskela, 2002). Emotional events have been found to be based partly on sensorimotor processes (Frese and Zapf, 1994; Hacker, 1998), which are usually automatic, without conscious attention. When an emotion is felt, the expression of this emotion occurs automatically, and may be moderated by social competence (Zapf et al., 2010:380). A particular requirement for customer service representatives in call centres is an emotional understanding of clients' needs, necessitating a considerable level of empathy (Dormann and Zijlstra, 2010:306).

There is evidence to suggest that EPM may affect individuals' emotions in a variety of ways. Stanton and Weiss (2000:424) claim that monitoring and surveillance may affect employees' feelings about work and the workplace – attitudes, emotions, beliefs, norms, etc. – and may also modify on-the-job employee behaviour, including productivity, citizenship and unproductive behaviour. The emotional experience of being under surveillance may be ambivalent. Koskela (2003:300) argues that a surveillance camera may provide a feeling of security, but may suddenly become a sign of danger.

Ball (2001) and Ball and Wilson (2000) have proposed a relationship between monitoring-related outcomes and how the monitoring system is configured, which helps to set the parameters for the empirical work of this thesis. More specifically, both studies have examined CBPM. Ball (2001) explores CBPM in the workplace as an issue

dominated by questions of ethics, raising three key implications. First, it is important for any empirical investigation of the ethics of CBPM practice to take into consideration not only its compliance with former "best practice" guidelines, but also social relations which infiltrate the context of its application. Second, this requires a specific epistemological treatment of CBPM as something with measurable and identifiable effects, as well as having a socially constructed meaning. Third, current arguments against which this debate is set, which regard contrasting epistemologies and ontologies as incompatible, should be addressed and an alternative introduced (Ball, 2001:211). Ball and Wilson (2000) examine CBPM in two UK financial services organisations, critiquing how this area has been theorised by both traditional and critical organisation theorists. In examining subject positions in interpretive repertoires, the paper demonstrates how power, control and resistance are constituted at an individual level and are specifically linked to the use (and abuse) of CBPM technology (Ball and Wilson, 2000:539).

The emotions experienced by individuals in a call centre environment depend on characteristics and organisational features of call centre work, choices and strategies available to manage the work, the effects of this type of work on employees, and the responses and reactions of call centre staff to their work experiences (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:3). Work in call centres is linked with various forms of emotion work, for example the requirement to display continuously positive emotions in interactions with customers and to handle negative emotions such as boredom or monotony that often result from simple, scripted communication processes (Wegge et al., 2006:237). Discrete emotions such as anger, envy, guilt, disgust and anxiety are triggered by specific events, and the

consequences of these emotions may differ substantially (Payne and Cooper, 2001, cited in Wegge et al., 2006:237). A study of the emotional aspects of service interactions in call centres found that CSRs expressed positive emotions such as happiness and enthusiasm on a fairly regular basis, but seldom expressed negative emotions such as anger or anxiety (Zapf et al, 2003, cited in Holman, 2005:115). In another study of 2,091 call centre representatives working in 85 call centres in the UK, central assumptions of affective events theory (AET) were tested (Wegge et al., 2006:237). AET predicts that specific features of work (e.g. autonomy) have an impact on the arousal of emotions and moods at work that, in turn, co-determine the job satisfaction of employees (Wegge et al., 2006:237). The fact that individuals sometimes appear to do little to counter surveillance does not mean that surveillance means nothing to them (Ball, 2009:641). Working under EPM may lead individuals to experience both negative and positive emotions.

3.1.2 Negative Emotional Reactions

The negative effects of call centre work may be greater for some types of worker than for others, and may be more evident in some types of work situations (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:8). In addition to links with health and safety concerns, research from the field of organisational psychology suggests that EPM has a generally negative effect on the workplace. The knowledge that employees are being watched, listened to or otherwise monitored may create a negative workplace atmosphere, undermining employee morale and creating division between employees and management (Johnston and Cheng, 2002:6).

Researchers have sought to investigate the relationship between more direct measures of emotional aspects at work and psychological strain (Abraham, 1998; Adelman, 1995; Brotheridge and Lee, 1998; Grandey, 1998; Morris and Feldman, 1997; Zapf et al., 1999). The emotion most frequently discussed in the EPM literature is "stress" (Varca, 2006:292). Call centres have been identified as a stressful place in which to work (Fernie and Metcalf, 1998; Knights and McCabe, 1998; Mulholland, 2002; Nebeker, 1987; Peaucelle, 2000; Ruyter, Wetzels and Feinberg, 2001; Wegge et al, 2006). EPM may make people stressed because of the forceful demands of the system, particularly in terms of productivity and performance. Empirical studies have provided strong evidence linking EPM with increased stress (Aiello and Shao, 1993; Amick and Smith, 1992). In a comprehensive field study, Smith et al. (1992, cited in Holman, Chissick and Totterdell, 2002:60) compared monitored and non-monitored employees. Monitored employees reported higher levels of boredom, depression, anxiety, anger and fatigue (Amick and Ostberg, 1987; Smith, Carayon and Meizio, 1986; Smith, Cohen and Stammerjohn, 1981). Fear of EPM evaluation may produce anxiety and heightened sensitivity to adverse feedback that may damage self-esteem and self-image (Smith and Amick, 1989:278). Survey, case study and experimental data have also indicated an association between EPM and decreased job satisfaction (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a:339). Individuals in call centres may also experience discomfort while working under EPM (Dormann and Zijlstra, 2010:307).

In a disciplinary environment, employees may feel threatened by EPM, particularly in terms of losing their jobs. Surveillance may generally make individuals feel threatened and guilty, and they may feel intimidated by the fact that their mistakes can be easily

identified. An environment of fear and guilt is built, in which employees worry about their future in the organisation (Breckenridge, 2007). They feel vulnerable to punishment, especially with regard to job security, which plays a key role when working under EPM. Amick and Smith (1992:9) maintain that the threat of job loss is a potent source of stress, and Smith et al. (1986), in a study of electronic monitoring, found this to be the major reason that employees feared monitoring. Employees working under EPM may experience feelings of uncertainty and ambivalence (Ball, 2009:640), and may feel intimidated (Schleifer and Shell, 1992:50). Believing that their mistakes will be spotted by the system, they fear losing their jobs (Bond and Bunce, 2003:1058).

The coercive and manipulative nature of EPM may also lead individuals to experience fear (Kizza and Ssanyu, 2005:6). The instant identification and correction of mistakes creates a work environment in which employees fear negative consequences, such as punishment of mistakes. Amick and Smith (1992:9-10) suggest that organisations seeking to justify workforce reductions may use performance monitoring to dismiss an employee for unsatisfactory performance (Kizza and Ssanyu, 2005:6). Tabor (2001:135) argues that "[t]he very idea of surveillance evokes curiosity, desire, aggression, guilt, and, above all, fear – emotions that interact in daydream dramas of seeing and being seen, concealment and self-exposure, attack and defence, seduction and enticement". Koskela (2003:300) asserts that what ensures discipline simultaneously erodes confidence. Monitoring may add to workers' concern about being watched frequently; thus, workers may be afraid to socialise. In Smith, Carayon and Meizio's (1986) study, all workers interviewed commented on the importance of the workplace as a place to socialise and interact with others (Smith and Amick, 1989:284).

Often, there are shared expectations that are respected by all and serve to guide social interactions. When these expectations are violated, people may experience feelings of discomfort, embarrassment and even anger (Zweig and Webster, 2002:627). Zapf et al. (2010:314) state that anger is another dominant emotion experienced under EPM. Dormann and Zijlstra (2010:307) suggest that many people are more likely to remember frustration and anger than joy and pleasure when thinking about past experiences with call centres. People may also be angered by threats made by the system (Wegge et al., 2006:240).

3.1.3 Positive Emotional Reactions

Whilst EPM may lead individuals to experience a variety of negative emotions, they may also experience postive emotions. Holman (2003:123) reviewed three studies examining the main causes of employee stress and wellbeing in call centres. All three revealed that employee wellbeing in call centres is associated with effective job design, performance monitoring that is not perceived to be intense and which aims to develop employees, supportive management, and supportive human resource practices. These studies challenge the image of call centres as “electronic sweatshops” and question the idea that call centre work is inevitably stressful. It is argued that managers may choose how to organise call centre work and may take active steps to design employee stress out of call centre work. Therefore, call centres may not be as bad as often portrayed (Holman, 2003:123). EPM may not necessarily lead to stress. Lund (1992) suggests that organisational climate, as well as the technology, may have significant impacts on stress-related outcomes, independent of the monitoring itself:

> *The existence of a statistical association between EPM and stress-related symptoms or other outcomes as a result of monitoring does not necessarily establish a causal relationship nor does it explain the mechanism by which monitoring exerts these influences* (Lund, 1992:58, cited in Henderson et al., 1998:146).

Moreover, EPM may increase a sense of autonomy. In Zuboff's (1984:351) study, it is claimed that some workers welcomed computer-mediated remote management because it increased their sense of autonomy and responsibility.

Warr's (1996) typology of employee wellbeing shows that the performance-related content of monitoring tends to be associated with pleasurable and aroused states of wellbeing (e.g. enthusiastic, cheerful, happy). The beneficial purpose and intensity of monitoring has more global affects on wellbeing (Holman, 2003:127). In Holman's (2003:127) study, CSRs generally expressed more positive emotions than they felt. This was true for all measures of positive emotion. For example, they rated themsleves as having appeared enthusiastic on 75 per cent of occasions but as having felt enthusiastic on only 58 per cent of occasions. Further analysis shows that the mean rating per person was significantly more positive for displayed emotions than for felt emotions.

Research also indicates that EPM may increase employee satisfaction and morale as a result of more objective performance appraisals and improved performance feedback. Eisenman (1986) demonstrated that both monitored employees and their supervisors believed that EPM systems provided more objective data about performance than traditional forms of monitoring. Wells, Moorman and Werner (2007) report that when

employees perceive EPM as a means to improve their performance, they view EPM as fair. Their respondents also reported higher job satisfaction and organisational commitment, and felt an obligation to reciprocate (Wells, Moorman and Werner, 2007:133). Thus, in a call centre, the relationship between manager and employee may foster employee behaviours that will have lasting benefits to the organisation (Perkins, 2013:11). Chalykoff and Kochan (1989) showed that considerate supervisory behaviour and EPM satisfaction are related. Respondents who said that their supervisors provided encouragement, gave recognition and supported them professionally were more likely to be satisfied with the EPM system (Carayon, 1993:394).

3.1.4 Emotional Labour and EPM

When employees regulate the expression of emotion in exchange for a wage, this is known as "emotional labour" (Holman, 2005:14). Emotional labour was popularised by the work of Hochschild (1983), who stated that emotional labour is the "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display". Emotional labour involves managing emotions so that they are consistent with organisational or occupational display rules (Grandey, 2000). Jobs necessitating the exercise of emotional labour include those that require face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public, require workers to produce an emotional state in another person, or allow employees to exercise a degree of control over their emotional activities (Glomb, Kammeyer-Mueller and Rotundo, 2004). The individual is forced to exercise self-management so as to portray a specific image to others. Mann (1999, cited in Donald, 2001:283) estimates that "emotional labour is evident in approximately two-thirds of all workplace communication".

In service organisations, employees are generally required to manage their emotional expression toward customers (Hochschild, 1983). In particular, employees are expected to display appropriate emotional expressions, whether they be positive (e.g. smiling down the phone in call centres) or negative (e.g. anger in bill collectors) (Holman, Chissick and Totterdell, 2002:63). Ball (2009:642) found that in UK and South African call centres, all aspects of employees were very closely monitored. Employees engaged in formal "self-management" on the telephone, only showing particular emotions and interacting with customers in particular ways. The constant scrutiny of surveillance penetrates to the very core of each member's subjectivity, creating a climate in which self-management is assured (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992:283-284).

Several authors have examined the issue of self-management from an emotional standpoint (Berger et al., 2007; Hofer, 2007; Lupton, 1998; Sumter, Bokhorst and Westenberg, 2008; Taylor et al., 2002). The findings of Lupton's (1998) interview study carried out in Sydney reveal that self-management plays a key role in the regulation of the human emotions. In particular, "many interviewees made reference to the 'damage' that could be caused to one's mental or physical health by 'bottling up' one's emotions" (Lupton, 1998:47). The emotions that respondents found most difficult to control were the most distressing, namely grief, loss, anger and sorrow (Lupton, 1998:49). On the other hand, feelings seen as positive, such as joy and happiness, were viewed as requiring little control (Lupton, 1998:47). In another study by Mann (2010:362), it was found that the most frequently suppressed emotion was anger, suppressed in ten per cent of all communications.

People working in emotional labour may experience self-management in a variety of ways. For example, gender, status and work experience may affect the way in which self-management is emotionally expressed. MacDermid, Seery and Weiss (2002:408) claim that emotion management must be understood principally by examining the work-family interface. For instance, a person raised in a family with strict parents will probably manage emotions differently at work from someone brought up by lenient parents. The life experiences of older people teach them to manage their emotions differently from young people (Lupton, 1998:58). Furthermore, unlike men, who tend to suppress their emotions, women are more willing to express their feelings openly (Lupton, 1998:55).

Sawaf, Bloomfield and Rosen (2001:334) argue that "many times primal emotions are suppressed as our parents discipline us to be in more control of our emotions. This is a direct result of the parents' fear of their own emotions being projected onto their children". Fineman (2007) asserts that the process of controlling emotions is one which can be understood by looking at differences in childhood. He claims that:

> *psychoanalysts point to unresolved childhood and family tensions that are re-expressed in the workplace, rekindled when, for instance, we are judged, measured or evaluated. The threats we experience are echoes from the past that have been suppressed or repressed because of the anxiety or pain they generate. They now form part of our personality, and colour how we see the world and the way we react* (Fineman, 2007:142).

Berger et al. (2007:256) claim that:

> *during infancy and early childhood, children develop the ability to regulate their own emotions and behaviour. This development of self-regulatory mechanisms has been considered to be a crucial link between genetic predisposition, early experience, and later adult functioning in society.*

Emotional labour thus comes to be regarded as a form of emotional regulation, by which employees are expected to exhibit certain emotions as part of their job. Strategies addressed by research on emotional regulation include suppression, repression, reappraisal and rumination (Evison, 2001:251). Briner (1999, cited in Donald, 2001:283) notes that "almost all supervisory or managerial jobs require the suppression of some emotions and the display of others". Emotional regulation may be defined as "the process by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross, 1998:275). Lord and Harvey (2002:131) maintain that the process of emotional regulation strongly influences the components that define emotion. There are two kinds of emotion regulation: antecedent-focused and response-focused. The former refers to modifying initial feelings by changing the situation, while the latter refers to modifying behaviour once emotions are experienced by suppressing, faking or amplifying an undesired emotional response (Grandey, 2000). Evison (2001:243) argues that "emotion regulation may be automatic or controlled and conscious or unconscious. Emotion regulation addresses any of the major components of emotions: experiential, cognitive, behavioural."

Discussion of individual differences with regard to the regulation of emotions is taken a step further by Pugh (2002:147), who claims that it is affected to some degree by the context in which people live and work. In particular, an individual's environment determines the adoption of a variety of emotional regulation strategies. Pugh notes that emotional regulation is a form of self-regulation found in theories of self-management (2002:159). Similarly, for Kanfer and Kantrowitz (2002:437) emotional regulation refers to the psychological and behavioural processes involved in the (self-)management of affective response tendencies. Through self-regulation, individuals are forced to put into effect specific display rules in order to meet the needs of the external environment (Goldberg and Grandey, 2007; Totterdell and Holman, 2003).

The implementation of display rules is a controlled process, requiring planning and effort on the part of the employee (Pugh, 2002:154). For example, employees working in the services sector:

> *engage in a constant process of regulating their emotional experiences and expressions in order to conform to organisational display rules. As internal feelings turn more negative, service workers have to suppress those feelings more in order to conform to display rules that generally prohibit the expression of negative emotion* (Pugh, 2002:159).

Taking these factors into consideration, emotional regulation is a technique of self-management that remains both conscious and controlled, and when suppression is the prime regulatory technique employed, the regulation of emotions requires the use of cognitive resources. With repeated practice, however, even conscious emotional

regulation, when initiated intentionally, may take on characteristics of an automatic, non-conscious process (Pugh, 2002:174).

Many studies have found that the use of surveillance may cause individuals to manage their behaviours (Elden, 2003; Fox, 1989; Hofer, 2007; Marx, 2002; McKinlay, 2002; Porter, 1996; Reed, 1999; Stanton and Barnes-Farrell, 1996; Taylor et al., 2002). When people are inspected through various surveillance mechanisms, they force themselves through a process of emotion management. For example, a person who is happy might suppress cheerful emotions in front of a CCTV in order to avoid being viewed as unprofessional (Alder and Ambrose, 2005). An individual who is upset might restrain angry emotions in order to avoid punishment (Stalder, 2002). On the other hand, a person who is unresponsive might not be forced to suppress or restrain any emotion (Stanton and Weiss, 2000). It is also argued that there are variations in the ways that individuals of different cultures and genders react to EPM. For example, Panina and Aiello (2005:269) claim that "masculinity is more successful in absorbing technical innovations, because masculine cultures are performance-driven rather than concerned with social welfare", making EPM easier to implement in more masculine cultures.

The fact that EPM is widely used in service environments such as call centres adds significance to the exercise of emotional labour (Brannan, 2005). As previously mentioned, the display of particular emotions is normally a job requirement for employees working in call centres. Call centre workers may find it necessary to express empathy with customers experiencing difficult circumstances, with the concomitant requirement to separate their own reactions from the caller in the exchange (Barrell, 2000; Callaghan, 2002; Houlihan, 2001; Knights and McCabe, 1998; Mulholland, 2002;

Taylor and Bain, 1999; Taylor et al., 2002). Electronic monitoring forces employees to control their emotions in order to portray favourable images to others (Deetz, 1998:168).

Call centres have not only been found to be stressful places of employment, but the work itself is considered to place significant demands on agents' ability to subjugate and control their own emotional responses during telephone contact with customers. Emotional labour in a call centre context is facilitated by computer technology in a workplace where agents are isolated by the structured nature of their work and the immediate virtual proximity of their callers (Hingst, 2006:7). The term "emotional labour" has been extended to apply to a broader range of contexts where there is a personal investment of emotions by an individual in their work. In a daily diary study, Holman (2001, 2003) reported an association between call centres and emotional labour. CSRs reported displaying more positive than negative emotions over the course of each working day (Holman, 2005:115).

An employee's emotional state will affect the quality of emotional labour engaged in during a service encounter. Fatigue, stress or depression will be transmitted to the customer. The relevance of emotional labour and managing feelings in service sector work has been confirmed by other researchers, including work on hospice nurses (James, 1989), the role of sexuality in off-course betting shops (Filby, 1992) and Ogbonna and Wilkinson's (1990) work on customer service in supermarkets. It has also surfaced briefly in some of the better known studies of call centres (Taylor and Bain, 1998), and in more detail in Taylor's (1998) research into the telephone sales operations of a British airline. He comments that "service sector employers are increasingly demanding that employees actively work on and change their feeling to match the

display required by the labour process" (Taylor, 1998:98, cited in Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:248).

In a study by Wilk and Moynihan (2005:918), call centre workers stressed the need to express positive emotions and suppress negative emotions in their telephone interactions with customers. Zapf et al. (1999:371), in a study of 250 employees working in call centres, defined emotion work (emotional labour) as the emotional regulation required of employees in the display of organisationally desired emotions. The existing literature on emotion work and action theory differentiates emotional regulation requirements, emotional regulation possibilities (control), and emotional regulation problems (dissonance). Emotional labour has been both positively and negatively related to psychological health (Zapf et al., 1999:371). In their interactions with customers, employees are often forced to express emotions they do not feel, such as being friendly or happy, or suppress emotions that they genuinely do feel, such as anger or frustration. This may lead to feelings of inauthenticity and result in anxiety and burnout. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993:96) point out that "customer perceptions of good service hinge on more than mechanical conformity with display rules. They hinge on the extent to which the service agent conveys a sense of genuine interpersonal sensitivity and concern."

Grandey and Brauburger (2002:262) associate the regulation of emotions with the customer services working environment. They identify three types of emotional work requirements (Grandey and Brauburger, 2002:264): integrative (e.g. friendliness and sympathy displayed by frontline service personnel), differentiating (e.g. bouncers instilling fear by portraying anger) and suppression (where neutralising emotions are required, as with therapists or judges). Owing to the idiosyncratic nature of emotions,

their expression may not be clearly visible. Individuals may hide or suppress their true emotions (Valsecchi, 2006:133). In order to manage situations and protect themselves from abuse or ill treatment, employees are often encouraged to suppress their true feelings and detach themselves emotionally from hostile or difficult customers (Baumeister et al., 1998; Frenkel et al., 1998; Hochschild, 1979). However, this disjuncture between what employees feel towards their customers and what they are expected to display may be difficult to resolve and may cause considerable confusion (Deery, Iverson and Walsh, 2002:474).

Rather than exerting physical labour to manufacture a product, the service labour process involves the use of emotional labour to manufacture relationships (Hingst, 2006:3). Employees are expected to display emotions that help create a desired state of mind in the customer. In order to achieve this, call centres have increasingly sought to specify and control the way in which employees present themselves to customers (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:7). Call centre work is a good example of interactive service sector work, in which the management of particular attitudes and feelings, sometimes summed up as emotional labour, is combined with product knowledge to maximise the quality and quantity of output, often measured in terms of customer satisfaction (Taylor, 1998, cited in Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:234). There is less room for authentic emotional expression, particularly for the service provider, and less opportunity to understand the reasons for another's behaviour; this may lead to errors of attribution, as when a customer attributes good service to organisational rules and bad service to individual traits (Holman, 2005:113). Mirchandani (2005, cited in Taylor and Bain, 2006:53), has emphasised how locational masking – the compulsion (or encouragement) to adopt

Western names and accents – may add culturally-specific dimensions of psychological strain to the stresses frequently associated with emotional labour.

3.1.5 "Acting" under EPM

When people express themselves emotionally, they are forced to follow specific display rules. While interacting, people tend to play roles and try to create certain impressions (Becker, 2003). These impressions include the display of normatively appropriate emotions following certain display rules (Zapf et al., 2010:314). Customer service employees are required on an ongoing basis to adhere to display rules, defined as expression norms that dictate emotions to be expressed in attaining their work goals. While relationships with an authority figure may involve a certain level of impression management on the part of the employee, maintaining display rules in interactions with customers may be an ongoing stressor and a source of emotional labour for customer service employees (Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1337). To comply with display rules, workers often engage in acting (Hochschild, 1983). The stronger the display rule demands, the more emotional effort is likely to be involved in such work (Wilk and Moynihan, 2005:917).

Display rules can also be found in call centres, and observation of these rules is often enforced by EPM (Baumgartner, Good and Udris, 2002; Holman, 2003; Schuler, 2000). The frequency of customer contact in call centres is generally higher than in other service jobs, which may explain why CSRs are more often required to express positive emotions than other comparable service professionals. In most call centres, CSRs are expected to display friendliness and politeness towards callers (Deery et al., 2002).

Social situations that require emotional self-control do not only occur in interactions with supervisors and colleagues (e.g. conflict with a co-worker), but are likely to occur in interactions with clients. Call agents communicate mainly voice-to-voice with customers (Dormann et al., 2002; Holman and Wall, 2002; Moltzen and Van Dick, 2002); therefore, they have to deal with a variety of customer emotions. In such situations, call agents must display the emotions required by the organisation (e.g. empathy and friendliness), regardless of their real emotions, in order to influence customers' emotions in a goal-oriented manner. Therefore, their job involves emotion work (Grebner et al., 2010:346).

Call centres have increasingly sought to specify and control the ways in which employees present themselves to customers (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:7). They must make customers feel as if they are really interested in customers' problems and are happy to be talking to them (Dormann and Zijlstra, 2010:308). During service transactions, employees are expected to display emotions that comply with organisational norms or standards (Belt, Richardson and Webster, 1999). Erickson and Wharton (1997:188) suggest that employees are expected to "appear happy, nice and glad to serve the customer" in spite of any private misgivings or any other feelings they may have. Indeed, a key feature of interactive service work is the presentation of emotions specified by the organisation and embodied in the rules of employment (Morris and Feldman, 1997). Gordon (1989, cited in Deery et al., 2002:472) has described this as the commoditisation of emotions.

3.1.6 Surface and Deep Acting

Individuals conceal their true emotions so as to be viewed positively by their customers, managers and colleagues (Tabor, 2001:135). They must exercise deep acting and surface acting (Hochschild, 1983), both of which involve attempts to display required emotions, but with different motives or intentions (Totterdell and Holman, 2003:56).

When deep acting, people regulate the precursors of emotion by modifying their perception of the situation, using the two main techniques of attention deployment and cognitive change. Attention deployment involves changing the focus of thoughts to things that induce the required emotions; for example, recalling pleasant memories can brighten sad moods. Cognitive change involves evaluating or appraising situations differently to change the emotions that they induce. For example, an employee might try to view a situation from a colleague's perspective as a means of reducing feelings of anger toward that person (Totterdell and Holman, 2003:56). When deep acting, one tries to feel and display the required emotions, for example by reappraising the situation so that any inappropriate emotional impact is lessened (Holman, 2005:14). Hence, employees engaged in deep acting endeavour to feel the required emotions as a means of creating an appropriate display of emotion (Holman et al., 2002:63). Deep acting may reduce dissonance and, therefore, anxiety (Holman et al., 2002:64).

Surface acting, on the other hand, involves faking the display of the required emotion, with little attempt to feel that emotion (Holman, 2005:14). Employees regulate their emotional expressions to fulfil their job duties (Totterdell and Holman, 2003:56). People regulate their emotional responses, using response-focused regulation, by modulating their reactions to situations, which can be achieved either cognitively or behaviourally.

For example, an employee might pretend to be enthusiastic (Totterdell and Holman, 2003:57) or may "paste a smile on her face" even when feeling unhappy (Holman et al., 2002:63). Surface acting has been shown to increase stress, as the suppression of feelings is probably more demanding on personal resources than other forms of regulation such as deep acting (Holman, 2005:122) because there is a continued discrepancy between displayed and felt emotions (Holman et al., 2002:63). Surface acting may stifle personal expression and this may be experienced as unpleasant and dissatisfying. Surface acting (particularly faking and feeling false) may result in depression, as the feeling of "being a fake" may damage one's self-worth (Holman et al., 2002:64). In Holman's study (2005:115), CSRs reported that they surface acted on 13 per cent of occasions and deep acted on 43 per cent of occasions. Overall, initial research on the emotional aspects of service interactions in call centres indicates that it is characterised by the frequent display of positive emotions and the infrequent expression of negative emotions, while the emotions displayed tend to be more positive than the emotions felt (Holman, 2005:115).

Any form of acting in emotional labour requires the suppression of feelings. Labour which requires one "to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others ... calls for a coordination of mind and feeling" (Hochschild 1983:7, cited in Taylor and Bain, 1999:103). One of three dimensions of emotional labour in a study by Mann (2010:354) is emotional suppression, which is a significant internal event. Sixty per cent of Mann's communications respondents indicated that they hid emotion to some extent. In just over a quarter of all communications, respondents indicated a high degree of emotional

suppression. There was no statistical difference between emotional suppression scores for frontline and non-frontline communications (Mann, 1999:362). Staff must also suppress feelings of tiredness or irritation (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:248). In order to manage difficult situations and protect themselves from abuse or ill treatment, employees are often encouraged to suppress their true feelings and detach themselves emotionally from hostile or difficult customers. Best, Downey and Jones (1997, cited in Zapf et al., 2010:376) measured how often different emotions were expected on the job. Using factor analyses, they found key three factors – the expression of positive emotions, the suppression of negative emotions and the expression of negative emotions – the last of which showed low reliability and a low response frequency.

3.1.7 Emotional Dissonance

Emotional dissonance occurs when the required emotional expression does not match the emotions felt (Lewig and Dollard, 2003). When dissonance occurs the employee may either display his "true" emotions, thereby violating job requirements, or try to display the required emotions (Holman, 2005:114). The intended effects of these emotional displays are on other people, such as customers, subordinates or co-workers (Grandey, 2000). For instance, restaurant waitresses are expected to perform emotional work such as smiling and expressing positive emotions towards clients, flight attendants are encouraged to create good cheer in passengers, and bill collectors promote anxiety in debtors (Tyler and Abbott, 1998:433). Similarly, hospital nurses are expected to express positive emotions towards patients, such as warmth and compassion (Diefendorff and Richard, 2003). Deery and Kinnie (2002:8) maintain that those who perform a "second

shift" of emotional work at home may be more vulnerable to the negative effects of call centre work.

Two issues should be stressed with regard to emotional dissonance. First, some authors focus on the display of emotions required by the organisation, no matter what a person feels (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). A display of emotion refers to facial expression, bodily behaviour or voice, which are visible aspects of the emotional system (Scherer and Wallbott, 1990, cited in Zapf et al., 1999:380). In the literature, emotional dissonance is seen either as a dependent variable, a state of tension that results when emotional expressions are different from internal feelings (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993), as a stressor that results when the organisationally desired emotion is not felt spontaneously (Grandey, 1998), or as a stressor located in the social environment in terms of a job demand (Zapf, 2002, cited in Grebner et al., 2003:347). Abraham (1998) operationalised emotional dissonance based on Adelman's (1995) organisational display rules, and then rephrased identical items to reflect the degree to which respondents would actually show corresponding emotions. Different scores for the respective items were then computed to reflect emotional dissonance (Zapf et al., 1999:376). Research has shown that emotional dissonance is generally associated with impaired wellbeing, such as emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, irritation, psychosomatic complaints and reduced job satisfaction (Dormann et al., 2002; Zapf, 2002; Zapf et al., 1999). Emotional dissonance may originate from "faking in good faith" when the employee accepts the underlying display rule or from "faking in bad faith" when the feeling rule is not accepted (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989). Various authors (Abraham,

1998; Adelman, 1995) propose that faking in bad faith has the most negative consequences.

Grebner et al.'s (2003) comparison of 234 call centre agents with 572 workers in traditional jobs with lengthy training revealed lower job control and task complexity/variety and higher uncertainty among call agents. Their data confirmed the role of emotional dissonance as a stressor in its own right, as it explained variance in irritated reactions and psychosomatic complaints more than other working conditions. In particular, the experience of emotional dissonance is a specific stressor that is prominent in call centre work (Brotheridge and Lee, 2003). Emotion regulation consumes energy, and consequently performance standards may rapidly decline (Baumeister et al., 1998).

Zapf et al. (1999, cited in Zapf et al., 2003:315) have differentiated several aspects of emotion work: the requirement to display positive emotions; the requirement to display and handle negative emotions, which also implies a wide variety of emotions; the requirement to sense the interaction partner's emotions; and dissonance between felt and displayed emotions. The first three components relate to states external to the worker, whereas the fourth dimension, emotional dissonance, relates to an internal state of conflict (Mann, 1999:369). There must be internal emotional dissonance for emotional labour to exist, and this must be accompanied by a behavioural emotional display. Displays may be "appropriate" because of either explicit or subtle display rules, or simply because of some informal protocol or internal expectation of the worker (Mann, 1999:353).

In another study undertaken by Zapf et al. (2003:311), it is argued that, compared with other groups, CSRs in call centres had to express fewer negative emotions, but were

most frequently exposed to states of emotional dissonance. In most call centres, CSRs are expected to display friendliness and politeness, and the organisational display rules do not allow the display of any negative emotion. This may explain why emotion work in human services jobs seems to be more frequent and more intensive than in call centres, even though emotional dissonance seems to be higher in call centres (Zapf et al., 2003:334). Low complexity, low resources and a relatively high level of emotional dissonance are prevailing problems of call centre work. CSRs are heavily controlled by customers. They must often adhere to clear rules about how to interact with customers, both at the task level (with scripts on how to proceed) and at the interaction level (display rules on being positive and friendly), thereby limiting their possibilities to cope with stressors (Zapf et al., 2003:335).

However, the existence of emotional dissonance in call centres has been disputed. In a study by Wegge et al. (2007:693), call centre work was simulated in an experiment with 96 call centre agents, and emotional dissonance was one of the factors studied. It was found that unfriendly customer behaviour led to more strain and lower call performance than friendly customer behaviour. Nevertheless, contrary to expectations, the availability of video data did not increase the strain of agents. On the contrary, it was found that video-conferencing increased the activity of agents if customers were friendly. Since higher levels of activity may counteract boredom, and because customers often prefer to see their service providers, adding video-conference facilities to call centres seems to be a fruitful way of enriching routine call centre work (Wegge et al., 2007:693).

3.1.8 Emotional Exhaustion

Emotional exhaustion plays an important role in call centre emotional labour. High levels of emotional management have been linked to emotional exhaustion – a feeling of being used up, worn out and irritable in personal interactions (Holman, Chissick and Totterdell, 2002:63). Wilk and Moynihan (2005:918) claim that, although the emotional labour literature from the field of sociology and the burnout literature from psychology are both concerned with the emotional exhaustion of workers, they have rarely been linked in empirical research. Studies of emotional dissonance have consistently found correlations with emotional exhaustion (Zapf et al., 2003:317). The stronger the display rule demands, the more emotional effort is likely to be involved in the work, resulting in greater emotional exhaustion (Wilk and Moynihan, 2005:917).

The central role of emotional labour variables in the experience of emotional exhaustion and satisfaction at work was confirmed in a study carried out in a South Australian call centre (Lewig and Dollard, 2010:366). This research confirmed the pre-eminence of emotional dissonance over a range of emotional demand variables in its ability to account for variance in emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction. Emotional dissonance mediated the effect of emotional labour on emotional exhaustion (Lewig and Dollard, 2010:366). Holman (2005:122) claims that unpleasant interactions with customers, which have been recorded as occurring in about 10 per cent of all calls, have been shown to be closely associated with emotional exhaustion.

When workers experience emotions other than those they are required to express as part of their occupational role, the dissonance that results from this acting and the effort involved in regulating their emotions lead to emotional exhaustion (Grandey, 2000).

Emotional exhaustion results when an imbalance occurs between the emotional demands of work and the personal psychological resources available to meet such demands. Thus, the effort required depletes one's energy and emotions, resulting in feelings of estrangement from oneself (Hochschild, 1983; Leiter, 1993) and emotional exhaustion (Wilk and Moynihan, 2005:918).

Wilk and Moynihan (2005:917) examined the effect of supervisory regulation of display rules on the emotional exhaustion of subordinates. On the basis of a sample of 940 call centre employees, the authors found that the emotional exhaustion of workers varied between supervisors, suggesting that emotion work is influenced at the supervisory, rather than job, level. Their findings support the view that interpersonal job demands are uniquely related to workers' emotional exhaustion and that these demands can be enacted by supervisors. Nonetheless, emotional exhaustion is not related only to having a demanding supervisor, but to having a supervisor who makes demands around interpersonal job requirements that have an effect on emotional exhaustion (Wilk and Moynihan, 2005:923). Zapf (2002:241) argues that "implicit emotional display rules exist through high-performance expectations". The importance a supervisor places on interpersonal job demands is positively related to the implicit emotional display rules of subordinates, which is related to greater strain in the form of emotional exhaustion (Zapf, 2002, cited in Wilk and Moynihan, 2005:917).

The literature on emotional labour has developed significantly since Hochschild's (1979) seminal work; nevertheless, many unanswered questions remain (Wilk and Moynihan, 2005:925). Callaghan and Thompson (2002:248) argue that one problem of much of the adaptation of Hochschild is that the somewhat one-dimensional concept has

not been significantly extended. They have found that, far from being passive providers of emotional labour, employees in call centres may also be active and skilled emotion managers in their own right (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:248). Moreover, Deery, Iveson and Walsh (2002) have established that electronic monitoring is not among a number of factors which affect emotional exhaustion and emotional withdrawal in call centre workers. In other words, a direct link between felt emotions and electronic monitoring has not been found: other aspects of the call centre environment exert a greater influence on felt emotions. Similarly, Wilk and Moynihan (2005) examined the effect of supervisory regulation of display rules – rules about the kinds of emotions to express on the job – on the emotional exhaustion of subordinates and found no link between at least one form of electronic monitoring and emotional labour.

Nonetheless, there is a gap in the literature regarding the role of self-discipline in emotional exhaustion. The theory suggests that emotional exhaustion plays a significant role in emotional management. However, it does not specify how self-discipline might influence individuals to feel emotionally tired or fatigued. This thesis aims find out more information regarding the importance of self-discipline in emotional exhaustion.

3.2 The Role of Society in EPM

3.2.1 Social Influence

The literature discusses the role of society in EPM. EPM is a strong socio-technical trigger (Carayon, 1993:386), and Stalder (2002:120) postulates that we live in a surveillance society. The social environment in which people live and interact plays a significant role in their experience of EPM (Higgins and Grant, 1989). While growing up, people experience certain expectations from society, based on the social, cultural

and political acceptance of people with different levels of power in society (Carayon, 1993:386). The social relationships of individuals with their immediate surroundings strongly determine their behaviours, attitudes and emotions. People of different social standing and class "supervise" the actions of others so that they obey the norms prescribed by the social system. Individuals may therefore be characterised as social objects who are socially sorted according to their social positions (Lyon, 2001; Simpson, 1985). The social environment aims to socialise people's bodies and minds by controlling their emotions and penetrating their structure (Bond and Bunce, 2003:1057).

A variety of processes and phenomena are used in society to exert different socio-psychological effects on individuals (Surveillance Studies Network, 2006). These social impacts are felt in the workplace and influence the cultural context of employees. The way in which individuals are socially constructed determines how they perceive and feel a monitoring system. Ball (2002:574) maintains that we are all producers and consumers of surveillance practices, partially legitimating the use of surveillance technologies at large. Our subjection to surveillance technologies is entirely situated in power relations and concurrent with our positions as consumers, as employees, as citizens and as members of social and family groups, and therefore may be transparent to us (Ball, 2002:574). Social phenomena cannot be completely understood without considering the larger social context in which they occur (Aiello and Kolb, 1995a:340).

The significance of the social processes around monitoring, with specific reference to the workplace, was developed in a critique by Sewell (1998, cited in Ball, 2010:96). Using empirical data, Sewell revealed that powerful cultures frequently support the use of monitoring, resulting in strong social norms concerning peer scrutinisation of the

effort and investment put into work by employee peers. Like any element of organisational life, work monitoring practices are subject to worker sense-making and become embedded within organisational histories as workers compare them with previous procedures (Ball, 2010:96). Ball and Margulis (2011:114) claim that, as they perform a monitored task, individual employees are simultaneously embedded in social processes surrounding the task. It is this embeddedness that forms the conceptual basis for psychological and sociological approaches to call centre monitoring (Ball and Margulis, 2011:114). This general social phenomenon also applies to interactions between call centre CSRs and their customers and clients (Zapf et al., 2003:314). Alder (2001:323) argues that organisational culture plays a key role in the implementation of EPM practices. The cultural group norms, social values and means for which are used to organise and manage their work influence their reactions toward EPM. A considerable body of research emphasises the importance of taking culture into account when transferring computer technology into new settings (Straub, Keil and Brenner, 1997; Kaye and Little, 1996; Grant, 2000; Kedia and Bhagat, 1988).

Thompson and McHugh (1995:20) argue that management control strategies are a means of dealing with contradiction, uncertainty and crisis in the socio-economic environment. Frequently, the culture of control intensifies down through organisational levels, based on institutionalised self-protection and defensive behaviour (Houlihan, 2000:237). Through surveillance, people are taught to recognise on their own what is right and what is wrong (Weller, 2012:58). This is largely influenced by social processes. Ball (2010:96) maintains that organisations now use a raft of surveillance-based techniques that are fixed not only in specific tools, but also in the social processes

of managing. Surveillance in the workplace not only produces measurable outcomes in terms of targets met or service levels delivered, but also produces particular cultures which regulate performance, behaviours and personal characteristics in a more subtle way (Ball, 2010:91).

Individuals' social norms and social relations determine how they experience the home-work interface (Di Domenico and Ball, 2011). Whilst technical systems play an important role in call centres, social systems are equally important, for example work organisation and HRM practices. The focus should not only be on the details of call centre technology *per se*, but on the relationship between technological and social practices in call centres, in other words on call centres as socio-technical systems (Cherns, 1987, cited in Holman, 2005:112). It is therefore unsurprising that behind the impressive socio-technical system of the call centre lies a fragile social order that encompasses potentially conflicting demands and expectations (Russell, 2006:97). There is a delicate balance between benign and invasive. People form expectations about the amount of personal information they will communicate with others in their daily lives.

Granovetter (1985:487) states that "actors do not behave or decide as atoms outside a social context". Employees quite often make sense of their work by drawing on ideas stemming from their immediate task environment and from broader institutional environments relating to social systems within and around the organisation itself (Ball and Margulis, 2011:113). The distinction between true and false constitutes the basis on which Western citizens separate right from wrong in diverse ways: permitted from forbidden, normal from pathological and, in Western contemporary societies, less risky from more risky. These distinctions are the basis on which individuals render meaning

and value to their conduct (Vaz and Bruno, 2003:284). Individuals may discipline each other by invoking cultural group norms, such as the expectation that everyone should "pull their weight", even if they do not know precisely why a colleague is failing to meet expectations (Sewell, 2012:306). Individuals working and living in society are subject to normative standards, which may also be transferred to the EPM environment. The norms prescribed by surveillance tend to be thought of as a disciplinary imposition rather than as voluntarily experienced by subjects (Yar, 2007:86). For example, in call centres there is close alignment between heavy normative control and tight monitoring of targets (Ball, 2002:579). Therefore, monitoring and surveillance may affect employee attitudes, emotions, beliefs and norms (Stanton and Weiss, 2000:424).

3.2.2 Moral Values

The morality of people working and living in society plays a key role in their understanding and assessment of events. The moral values communicated by society also influence the ways in which individuals perceive EPM. Sewell (2012:306) claims that direct surveillance exerts disciplinary force through a superior's ability to subject subordinates to "moral management" when they are deemed not to have lived up to the normative standards of the organisation. Individuals with a high level of moral identity are especially likely to recognise occasions that violate their moral and social values. The centrality of morality to the self is among the most powerful mechanisms in the link between moral judgment and behaviour (Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1338). Individuals working under EPM work so as to satisfy what is thought to be morally appropriate behaviour in the environment. Social expectations play a role in the

moral values of individuals. Often, shared expectations are respected by all and serve to guide social interactions between them.

Society defines what is appropriate in terms of moral behaviour for different situations, conditions and events. Social norms that develop in rules-oriented ethical climates emphasise the importance of acting on rules based on moral principles and professional codes. Therefore, rules-oriented ethical climates stress the importance of following established organisational policies and laws in line with organisational moral codes and policies (Victor and Cullen, 1988, cited in Spitzmüller and Stanton, 2006:252). Individuals will reflect on moral beliefs embedded over years and will take decisions which they feel are appropriate and correct. Moral judgments are made continuously to determine what is right and wrong (Vaz and Bruno, 2003:248). These moral values also strongly influence employee perceptions in organisations. For example, the responses of people working under EPM will be influenced by their level of moral understanding of the technological system (Ball, 2009:648).

3.2.3 EPM and the Need to Perform

Social moral values may lead individuals to embed feelings of accountability. People in society learn from a young age to follow specific accountability rules. They are taught to feel and do the "right" thing. Abnormality in their behaviour is considered to be a mistake. Individuals should behave according to the climate of normality built into the social environment, and should take responsibility for their feelings, actions and behaviours if they diverge from the norms (Houlihan, 2000:231). The social system leads them to blame themselves for their actions, thus subjectively embedding the notion that mistakes are not permitted.

These ideas are brought into the EPM setting. Performance systems are intentionally designed to hold employees accountable for their performance (Amick and Smith, 1992:9). Employees, and even supervisors and managers, aim to avoid making mistakes as the system will "punish" them. EPM acts as a power device which defines how employees hold themselves personally responsible for any wrongdoing. Hence, they behave, feel and act in ways which will satisfy both themselves psychologically and the technological system productively.

Ball (2009:642) found that call centre agents were instructed to blame themselves (rather than the system, the data or the customer) if they did not hit targets, and to self-motivate to achieve the targets next time. However, despite organisational efforts to make employees individually and personally responsible for their performance, employees repeatedly avoided blaming themselves for performance failures. They claimed that the system was slow, customer data were inaccurate, or they had not been given the right information. They would do anything to avoid responsibility for poor performance, and if they were made to face up to that responsibility many reported it as a personal disaster. Employees often managed such exposure to great effect, performing to the required standard and managing their personal inputs accordingly, but when they failed their underlying anxieties were revealed and they were subject to more intense personal scrutiny. In one sense, subject responses to surveillance concern performativity, but underlying that performativity are vulnerabilities which occasionally break the surface and render the subject much more accountable to whoever is watching (Ball, 2009:642).

Call centre workers are not expected simply to execute their physical tasks competently and efficiently and to display knowledge of their organisation's products, procedures or practices; they are held accountable for their emotions (Hochschild, 1983, cited in Deery and Kinnie, 2002:7). Houlihan (2000:231) claims that part of the call centre ethos is that expectations are couched in terms of the individual's own power over and responsibility for their performance, experiences and attitudes. Coaching and mentoring also aim to encourage staff to be the best they can be, shifting responsibility 4 higher levels of the hierarchy, such as in managers and supervisors. Houlihan (2012:165) states that, at the end of the day, managers are charged with responsibility and thus are accountable for their own actions, and more particularly the collective actions of their staff. If this accountability turns into liability, particularly in a defensive culture, managers are easily driven to conform to institutionalised routines and micro-management (Houlihan, 2012:165).

3.3 The role of Subjectivity in EPM

The literature refers to the association between subjectivity and EPM. Rose (1990:3) postulates that techniques for managing emotions have been reshaped. Individuals' very sense of themselves has been revolutionised and we have become intensely subjective beings. Surveillance studies have not subscribed to a particular theory of the subject, and the subjective experience of surveillance has not yet been addressed in any detail (Ball, 2009:640). In general, it seems that the more surveillance studies stress techniques of supervision, the more individual agency is left under-analysed (Simon, 2005:5). Knights (1990), Deetz (1993) and Ball and Carter (1998) argue for the importance of subjectivity, whilst simultaneously recognising the political and economic

contextualisation of organisations (Ball and Wilson, 2000:543). A number of authors also stress the need to examine subjective elements of EPM in more detail (Carayon 1994; Holman et al., 2002; Smith et al., 1992; Winiecki, 2004). Yar (2003:268) argues that the structure of subjective experience and action in spaces under surveillance requires further, systematic investigation. Winiecki and Wigman (2007:118) state that it is very important to understand how workers participate in the production of subjectivity in the face of organisational truth claims, whether they are acting in compliance with the rules and tactics of the organisation or resisting them.

Being under surveillance is a subjective experience (Mann, 1999:352). Visibility prompts examination of whose data are seen by whom and with what effects, because managing visibility is at the core of control, while exposure points to the subjective experience of surveillance – how people actually experience being watched and what differences that makes to the process (Lyon et al., 2012:6). The subjective aspect of surveillance is how workers experience surveillance as they go through their work day (Zirkle and Staples, 2005:83). The subjectivity of individuals creates a conscience which drives how they assess different circumstances, both inside and outside the workplace. In terms of surveillance, the individual is forced to follow a conscience in accordance with the moral values of the socio-technical system. Surveillance "manufactures conscience" (Tabor, 2001:128).

Subjectivity plays a key role in the experience of call centre workers (Winiecki and Wigman, 2007:118). For instance, in call centres, many disciplinary apparatuses are involved in "objectivising" subjective values and desires. The EPM context influences people's internal worlds (Botan and Vorvoreanu, 2005:133), derived from their social

environment (Yar, 2003; Rose, 1990; Vaz and Bruno, 2003). The intense scrutiny of EPM systems not only extracts information about the activities of individuals, it also shapes their subjectivity as they come to see themselves in ways defined through surveillance, for example as productive or unproductive workers (Sewell, 1998:403). The personalities of people working under EPM will determine the extent to which they regulate and manage their subjective realms (Houlihan, 2000:231).

Rose (1990) explains how people's subjectivity is shaped by society, arguing that it is largely constructed by governments and their need to exercise power over citizens. He provides a historical account of how people's subjectivity, for example as mothers, fathers, children and friends, has been shaped since World War II. Their subconscious embeds rules of correctness, making them feel guilty when mistakes occur. In an EPM environment, employees' consciences tell them that they should be working without error according to the speed and rules of the system. Their inner thoughts and feelings guide them to work according to standards and to avoid any inappropriate behaviours (Ball, 2009:639). The power immanent in these practices aims to make workers responsible but docile subjects who actively modify their subjectivity and actions according to the organisation's representation of workers in statistical form (Winiecki and Wigman, 2007:118).

The "self" plays an important role in the management of emotions. The self is the inner part of the personality which takes decisions depending on events and situations (Critchfield and Vargas, 1991). Discipline is a significant part of the self. Winiecki and Wigman (2007:118) claim that a worker's self is defined by the stance taken towards rules. Discipline has evolved from a corrective to a self-discipline approach (Edwards,

2001:331), and the type of discipline exerted by surveillance aims to subjugate disagreement and impose obedience (Sewell, 1998:413). Constant visibility ensures internal disciplinary processes (Valsecchi, 2006:124). Winiecki (2004:87) characterises self-discipline as the "disciplining of subjectivity". Self-discipline becomes part of individual subjectivity, mentally helping reduce the risk of being considered unusual by organisations and society (Vaz and Bruno, 2003:278). The issue of privacy may also be connected to the concept of the self. Simms (1994:316, cited in Ball and Daniel, 2012:377) maintains that privacy is linked to an individual's sense of self, disclosure of self to others and right to exert some level of control over that process.

Torrington and Hall (1995:529-530) identify two types of discipline: team discipline and individual self-discipline. With regard to team discipline, in disciplining themselves, team members may unwittingly intensify their own work practices to a level that tests normal levels of human endurance. They may challenge the normative hegemony of teamwork (Sewell, 1998:425). Sewell (1998:410) claims that life in teams is depicted as being a stressful experience in which individuals are subject to intense peer pressure to conform to group norms. Barker (1993, cited in Sewell, 1998:410) showed how this is part of the process of "concertive" control. His account of the introduction of self-managed teams in a case study organisation traced the emergence of this mode of control through the interplay of subjective relations as the teams went about establishing their own norms of task direction, performance evaluation and internal discipline (Sewell, 1998:410). This internal discipline might be considered as a form of self-discipline because individuals managed their emotions to conform to the rules of the socio-organisational environment.

In terms of individual self-discipline, Strauss and Sayles (1980:218) argue that "the best discipline is self-discipline, the normal human tendency to do one's share and to live up to the rules of the game". Self-discipline occurs when a "solo performer is absolutely dependent on training, expertise and self-control" (Edwards, 2001:318). Sewell (1998:413) claims that the realisation that surveillance is able to reveal the minutest deviations from performance norms increases the likelihood that workers will eventually become self-disciplining subjects (Sewell, 1998:413). When people exercise self-discipline, they internally reflect on their behaviour and emotions. Rooksby and Cica's (2005:245) internal self-reflection model suggests that agents must reflect upon and sanction their values appropriately. Self-discipline requires individuals to interiorise the norms of the monitoring system to the point that they are their own overseers (Koskela, 2003:292). The self-discipline function is triggered within the subconscious of individuals, helping them switch off negative emotions and switch on positive reactions.

The self has been connected to a number of facets of work, such as self-motivation, self-awareness, self-correction, self-improvement, self-exposure, self-image, self-vigilance, self-monitoring, self-surveillance, self-control and self-management. In particular, individuals working under EPM may exercise self-motivation in order to meet their targets. The monitoring system influences individuals to motivate themselves to correct their own behaviour and performance. Electronic monitoring may also influence worker self-image and feelings of self-worth. Fear of evaluation may produce anxiety and heightened sensitivity to adverse feedback that may damage self-esteem and self-image (Smith and Amick, 1989:278).

The self is constructed from social influences. Thoughts, feelings and actions may appear to be the very fabric and constitution of the intimate self, but they are socially organised and managed in minute detail (Rose, 1990:1). When one is observed, one exercises self-discipline through various means in order to adhere to specific socio-organisational rules (Eckermann, 1997:15). Sewell (1998:403) postulates that surveillance is able to instil a profound sense of self-discipline and self-control in many social settings, and is so subtle that it often goes unnoticed. Self-awareness can be characterised as an internal, introspective awareness of one's inner thoughts and feelings and an external, active self as a social object that impacts others (Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1338).

EPM may also lead to the exercise of self-correction. The monitoring system embeds a self-corrective function in the minds of employees (Bogard, 2012:32). The individual being monitored exercises self-improvement in order to avoid possible mistakes in future (Bunton, 2000:238). The disciplinary apparatus forces individuals to correct themselves when errors occur (Bogard, 2012:32). Self-discipline also forces individuals to regulate their emotions. Holman, Chissick and Totterdell (2002:78) suggest that the salience and importance of interpersonal job demands may trigger self-regulation activities to monitor compliance with display rules (Clegg, 1998; Hannah, 1997; Wilk and Moynihan, 2005). Those under surveillance do not need to be regulated since they regulate themselves (Koskela, 2003:300).

Ball (2010:90) maintains that self-surveillance is also central to management systems. Individuals are able to defend themselves by exercising self-vigilance and self-monitoring (Koskela, 2000a:253). Iles and Salaman (1994:210, cited in Callaghan and

Thompson, 2002:234) argue that there has been a shift to employee autonomy, self-monitoring and devolved decision making in a less stable, more uncertain and more dynamic environment. Through self-monitoring and self-surveillance, individuals monitor their own behaviours and emotions (Deetz, 1998:164). Zirkle and Staples (2005:80) maintain that electronic systems of surveillance and monitoring may control and manipulate workers' behaviours and job performance through their own self-monitoring and discipline. Individuals thus exercise surveillance over themselves (Koskela, 2003:292). Marx (2002:10) suggests that self-monitoring helps explain why people exercise self-restraint both in society and in organisations.

Surveillance instils a profound sense of self-control in individuals. In exercising self-control, one disciplines internal events. Edwards (2001:319) maintains that self-discipline is neither new nor necessarily in opposition to other forms of discipline, but is still a form of control because it is part of a relationship in which managers aim to establish authority and regulate the direction of workers' efforts (Bandura, 1982; Ganster and Schaubroeck, 1995). Self-discipline does not offer complete freedom, nor is it merely a device to persuade workers to work harder. It is one aspect of the way in which control must be negotiated (Edwards, 2001:319). Callaghan and Thompson (2001:24) argue that reward and discipline are present in technical control, through the self-discipline of surveillance and the public sharing of individual performance statistics. The presentation of positive emotions and continuous self-control of one's own feelings are very demanding (Brotheridge and Lee, 2003, cited in Wegge et al., 2006:237). When people feel threatened, they will exercise self-restraint and self-control in order to avoid negative consequences. Vaz and Bruno (2003:281) claim that the

greatest values of our society in relation to the self seem to be wellbeing, prolonged youth, security, self-control and efficiency. Self-control is not a necessary or stable condition (Koskela, 2003:300). Resistance to exposure to monitoring techniques reflects in part an effort to retain a sense of self-control and avoid feelings of shame (Zuboff, 1984:344).

The self is also associated with self-management (Mann, 1999:347). Ball's (2009:642) study of UK and South African call centres reveals a number of interesting elements regarding self-management. Her findings indicate that employees engage in formal "self-management" on the telephone, for example only showing particular emotions, and interacting with customers in particular ways. In the South African call centre, agents were required to make significant emotional and personal investments in their work, which were subject to managerial scrutiny (Ball, 2009:642). Hence, self-management is the joint responsibility of the organisation and the individual (McKinlay, 2002:596). This self-management takes place when people control or hide their true emotions in order to present a favourable image to the public (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002:234). Individuals exercise self-management in order to convey required emotional expressions (Mann, 1999) and control themselves in order to avoid emotional dissonance (Holman, 2005). Emotional exhaustion will result when individuals are unable to effectively control their emotions (Wilk and Moynihan, 2005:918).

Conformity is also a factor that may influence the self. Sewell (1998:403) claims that new surveillance technologies increase compliance through self-discipline. "Habituated anticipatory conformity" may play an even greater role (Norris and Armstrong, 1999:6). Bryant (1995) also refers to anticipatory conformity as worker "self-discipline". For

example, CCTV facilitates individual self-control through anticipatory conformity (Norris and Armstrong, 1999:91-92). The individual may well self-discipline inappropriate emotions and behaviour in order to avoid being spotted by the system. Faced with uncertainty with respect to whether they are being watched, employees may begin to discipline themselves (Simon, 2005; Zuboff, 1984). People may exercise self-discipline because of their capacity to feel accountable or responsible for their emotions. Nonetheless, there is a gap in the literature regarding the role of conformity in self-discipline. There is a lack of empirical research concerning the association between these two elements. This thesis aims to find out more information regarding the role of conformity in self-discipline.

Internalisation has been found to be closely linked with subjectivity. To internalise means to incorporate the cultural values, mores and motives of another or of a group, through learning, socialisation or identification. Moore and Fine (1990:102) describe internalisation as the "process by which aspects of the outer world and interactions with it are taken into the organism and represented in its internal structure". Walrond-Skinner (1986:186) refers to internalisation as a "process whereby the individual transfers a relationship with an external object into his internal world". Therefore, internalisation is a subjective process which involves features of learning, social membership, behavioural enactment and unconscious adaptation.

This process may also be experienced in an EPM context. Simon (2005:6) claims that discussion of the internalisation of control relates partly to Freud's (1946) application of psychic pressure by the super-ego, partly to Parsons' (1951) internalisation of norms, and perhaps partly to Goffman's (1959) performance of normative behaviour in total

institutions (Simon, 2005:6). The strength of surveillance lies in the sheer impossibility of avoiding the observer's gaze and the realisation that one is always, in principle, subject to it (Clegg, 1998:3): surveillance is internalised. Wallis and Poulton (2001) argue that internalisation "plays an integral developmental role in structuralization of the psyche as well as in the formation of internal objects and regulatory mechanisms" (Wallis and Poulton, 2001:16). Schafer (1968:9) claims that in the process of internalisation, the subject does the work of transformation or replacement, though possibly in response to environmental pressure; that environmental influence or pressure may be in whole or in part imagined by the subject; and that not everything internalised has the objective characteristic of being a "regulation". The process of internalisation, therefore, requires individuals to control their inner emotions, particularly when faced with external pressures such as EPM (Meissner, 1981:10).

Internalisation has been linked to power and discipline. Valsecchi (2006:124) maintains that, like the panopticon, constant visibility ensures internal disciplinary processes. Surveillance exerts a type of discipline which forces individuals to internalise the norms of the system. Discipline is organised into distinct spatial and temporal structures, and as a result power becomes internalised and, to a considerable extent, invisible (Dandeker, 1990:25). Such discipline is exercised as a form of control or regulator within the individual (Sewell 1998:410). Sewell and Wilkinson (1992:277) claim that JIT/TQC regimes instil discipline by internalising the "gaze" of authorities. Elmer (2012:28) argues that only through the subsumption of power – the internalisation of a probable gaze – can surveillance transform into a disciplinary society that "displaces and elides

the face of power". Being constantly conscious of being watched by invisible overseers leads to internalisation of control (Koskela, 2003:2).

While surveillance traps the body, it is actually aimed at the psyche. People internalise rules, regulate their own behaviour even when it is unnecessary and, thus, exercise power over themselves (Koskela, 2003:2). Individuals working under EPM interiorise surveillance and their visibility, to the point that they are their own overseers. Each individual exercises surveillance over, and against, himself (Koskela, 2003:292). The aim is to alter the visible person by forcing him/her to act on his/her invisible inner world (Rose, 1990:1). Most organisations seek to instil values of good customer service in their staff by way of cultural or normative control, in order to develop an internalised commitment to high performance and quality service (Deery and Kinnie, 2002:5).

Internalisation has also been associated with emotional labour, emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion. In particular, Lewig and Dollard (2003:369) argue that role internalisation encompasses work roles requiring the exercise of emotional labour. Individuals experience pressure to internalise role demands because failure to internalise organisational display rules leads ultimately to poor perceived job performance and job loss. However, over-identification with the work role so that too much emotional management is expended in meeting high work demands may increase the risk of emotional exhaustion (Lewig and Dollard, 2003:369).

Botan and Vorvoreanu (2005:133) maintain that the effects of surveillance may be both internal (the realisation of vulnerability because of the contrast between visibility and invisibility) and behavioural (the social behaviours undertaken, or not undertaken, in response to that perceived vulnerability). Internalisation is produced by internal and

external stimuli. Morris and Feldman (1996, cited in Mann, 1999:348) formulated a model of emotional labour that includes both an internal component (the conflict experienced as a result of discrepancy between genuine and expected emotion) and an external component (the demands made on employees in terms of expectations or intensity of display). Rooksby and Cica (2005:245) devised an internal self-reflection model. They postulate that those being monitored must reflect upon and endorse their values in an appropriate fashion (Rooksby and Cica, 2005:245). Therefore, internalisation triggered by surveillance may lead to conflict within the psyche of the individual (internal) due to social inconsistencies (external) in the roles played at particular times (Mann, 1999:348).

New types of monitoring often operate in a hidden or random fashion, leaving those under their scrutiny internalising the "gaze" of the authorities and rendering themselves docile (Zirkle and Staples, 2005:80). The habits, rules and orders of the system are internalised so that workers operate as they wish, using self-determined techniques, speed and efficiency (Townley, 1993:531): EPM leads to automatic subservience, without the need for direct monitoring and management (Elmer, 2012:24). This automatic subservience is achieved by suppressing emotional reactions in daily work situations in order to project a friendly and confident manner to others (Hingst, 2006:3). Employees are often encouraged to subdue their true feelings and detach themselves emotionally from hostile or difficult customers (Deery, Iverson and Walsh, 2002:474). Through internalisation people conceal negative emotions and exhibit behaviours that seem more appropriate to the socio-technical environment (Norris, 1997). In effect, individuals working under EPM internalise conformity by making it part of their

personality. For instance, call centre agents become independent judges of their own "data" and, in compliance with the organisation's subjectification of them, act as much in inspecting their own conduct (Winiecki, 2004:85).

Internalisation is also linked to accountability and morality (Weckert, 2005:64). Moral identity has two dimensions: internalisation, which is the degree to which a set of moral traits is central to one's self-concept; and symbolisation, which is the degree to which reactions to moral issues are expressed publicly through an individual's actions (Reed and Aquino, 2003, cited in Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1338). Call centre agents, for example, must internalise feelings that are "appropriate" to their surroundings by embedding them in their subjectivity (Houlihan, 2012:165). Individuals exercise internalisation because of their moral values and beliefs. Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker (2008:1338) maintain that the internalisation dimension of moral identity reflects the self-determined importance of moral characteristics to one's identity. Internalisation has been found to be positively related to moral reasoning and concern for others. Reed and Aquino (2003, cited in Skarlicki, van Jaarsveld and Walker, 2008:1338) found that individuals with higher internalisation scores reported higher perceived obligations towards group members.

The role of society in the experience of internalisation is significant in explaining why and how this process takes place (Ball, 2002; Weller, 2012). Neyland (2006:47) maintains that social control occurs by virtue of a process of internalisation of categories and values. Internalisation is a subjective process constructed through social involvement, which is transferred to various other settings such as organisations (Grebner et al., 2003:346). The subjectivity of individuals will activate "correct"

emotions internalised earlier by society and the organisation (Carayon, 1993:386). For example, call centre agents must deal with a variety of customer emotions, and may have to subdue their real emotions, as required by the organisation, in order to influence customers' emotions in a goal-oriented manner (Grebner et al., 2003:346). People "learn" to internalise socio-organisational rubrics which forbid them from making mistakes (Holman and Wall, 2002:299).

Nevertheless, the literature has left a gap in the theory in terms of the role of internalisation in self-discipline. No empirical research has been carried out to closely explore the importance of this element in the experience of self-discipline, especially in an EPM setting. This thesis aims to find out more information regarding the significance of internalisation in the exercise of self-discipline.

3.4 Summary of Literature Review and Research Gaps

The author acknowledges that a considerable number of studies in the areas of EPM, call centres and emotional labour have helped improve our knowledge on a variety of issues. For example, research carried out in different countries has enlightened our view about the ways in which EPM is used in call centres around the world (e.g. Deery and Kinnie, 2004; Frenkel et al., 1999; Holtgrewe et al., 2002). Additionally, a number of authors who have characterised call centres in various ways provide us an image of the context individuals operate in (e.g. Fernie and Metcalf, 1998; Taylor and Bain, 2000; Rose and Wright, 2005; Wegge et al., 2006; Wickham and Collins, 2004). The literature has also brought to our attention many physiological and psychological problems in call centres (e.g. Baumgartner, Good, and Udris, 2002; Holman, 2005; Schleifer et al., 1996; Sprigg and Jackson, 2006; Wegge et al., 2006).

Furthermore, a number of authors have increased our understanding on the connection between surveillance and power (e.g. Dandeker, 1990; Fernie and Metcalf, 1998; Foucault, 1979; Zuboff, 1989; Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992). Others helped us comprehend the relationship between EPM, bureaucracy and scientific management (e.g. Bain et al., 2002; Callaghan and Thompson, 2001; Deery and Kinnie, 2002; Lyon, 1994; Russell, 2006; Taylor and Bain, 1999; Winiecki, 2004). A number of researchers have also increased our awareness regarding the importance of additional elements interrelated to power such as coercion, oppression and manipulation (Ball, 2009; Elmer, 2012; Koskela, 2003; McGrath, 2004; Reed, 1992; Vaz and Bruno, 2003).

Moreover, the literature assisted us in understanding the significance of control in an EPM setting (e.g. Ball and Margulis, 2011; Houlihan, 2000; Isic et al., 2002; Spitzmüller and Stanton, 2006; Zweig and Webster, 2002). A number of authors have improved our knowledge on the issue of discipline in a surveillance context (e.g. Ball, 2007; Deery and Kinnie, 2002; Edwards, 2001; Sewell, 1998; Torrington and Hall, 1995; Winiecki and Wigman, 2007). Furthermore, a number of authors helped us understand the role of society in EPM. They have increased our knowledge regarding the way society influences individuals to manage their emotions through moral management and the need to perform (e.g. Ball, 2002; Bond and Bunce, 2003; Carayon, 1993; Cherns, 1987; Houlihan, 2000; Sewell, 2012; Stalder, 2002; Weller, 2012; Yar, 2007).

Whilst, these studies have improved our knowledge on a variety of issues concerning EPM and call centres, they have nevertheless, neglected to take into account the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. Very little has been said on

the relationship between these two elements. What actually takes place when people discipline themselves and what leads them to manage their emotions in an EPM environment? No empirical research has been carried out to answer this question (Ball, 2009; Newton, 1995). There is a need to look deeper into the relationship between self-discipline and emotion management, which requires a deeper analysis of the subjectivity of individuals and idiosyncratic experiences of emotion management. Hacking (1986:236, cited in Vaz and Bruno, 2003:276) argues that critiques of surveillance practices omit to consider inner monologue (what one says to oneself) or self-discipline (what one does to oneself). Thus, they omit to consider the true core of subjectivity.

More specifically, a number of researchers have helped us understand the relationship between EPM with employee productivity, abnormality, performance standards, correction and adjustment (e.g. Ball, 2002; Chissick and Totterdell, 2002; Dormann and Zijlstra, 2010; Hingst, 2006; Holman et al., 2008; Lyon, 2007; Zapf et al., 2003; Zirkle and Staples, 2005). However, a gap has been left in the literature concerning the way in which individuals rationally experience self-discipline. Perhaps, people are not aware that they discipline themselves. Not all people may react in a rational manner towards EPM. This thesis aims to find out more information regarding the ways in which individuals consciously or unconsciously exercise self-discipline.

Additionally, the literature has brought to our attention the issue of compliance and resistance in an EPM environment (e.g. Ball, 2010; Bain and Taylor, 2000; Mulholland, 2004; Norris and Armstrong, 1999; Sewell and Barker; 2006; Skarlicki et al., 2008; Spitzmüller and Stanton, 2006). Nonetheless, it has not empirically examined the

association between conformity and self-disicpline. This thesis aims to find out more information regarding the role of conformity in the self-discipline process.

Moreover, the literature assisted us in comprehending the connection between EPM, emotion management and emotional labour. We have learned about the significance of issues concerning display rules, acting, emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion (e.g. Taylor e.g. Ball, 2009; Brannan, 2005; Callaghan, 2002; Hochschild, 1983; Houlihan, 2001; Knights and McCabe, et al., 2002; Totterdell and Holman, 2003). Nonetheless, a gap has been left in the literature regarding the relationship between emotional exhaustion and self-discipline. It does not specify how self-discipline might influence individuals to feel emotionally tired or fatigued. This thesis aims find out more information regarding the importance of self-discipline in emotional exhaustion.

The literature has also assisted us in understanding the importance of subjectivity, internalisation and the self (e.g. Ball and Carte, 1998; Ball and Wilson, 2000; Deery, et al., 2002; Holman et al., 2002; Lewig and Dollard, 2003; Rooksby and Cica, 2005; Wallis and Poulton, 2001). Nevertheless, it has left a gap in the theory in terms of the role of internalisation in self-discipline. No empirical research has been carried out to closely explore the importance of this element in the experience of self-discipline. This thesis aims to find out more information regarding the significance of internalisation in the exercise of self-discipline.

Taking these factors into consideration, this thesis aims to fill these gaps by empirically examining what really happens when individuals cross over from self-discipline to emotion management, particularly in an EPM environment. Studying the intersection

between self-discipline and emotion management will raise greater interest in advancing knowledge of a topic that has been significantly under-explored (Stahl et al., 2005).

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology used in this thesis. The chapter begins by explaining the research questions of the study. It then argues that the literature on EPM, self-discipline and emotion management has predominantly emphasised quantitative measurement tools. Thus, there is a gap in research concerning these elements which this thesis aims to fill using an inductive approach to study individuals.

4.1 Research Questions

This thesis aims to answer one main research and three sub-questions.

Main research question: The main research question examines what takes place emotionally when organizational members discipline themselves and how they manage their emotions in an EPM environment. The overall argument is that, whilst, the literature has improved our understanding number of issues regarding EPM, it has nevertheless, failed to take into account the intersection between self-discipline and emotion management. Very little has been said on the association between these two elements (Ball, 2009; Newton, 1995).

Three sub-questions: To answer the main question, the researcher addresses three research questions. Firstly, what aspects do call centre agents working under EPM regard as significant when exercising self-discipline and emotion management? To answer this question, the researcher aimed to reveal the main themes and their respective categories/dimensions emerging from interviewee quotes. He sought to interprete the subjective and idiosyncratic experiences of individuals exercising emotion management under EPM setting. Secondly, what are the views, values, beliefs and ideologies of

people working within this electronic monitoring context? To answer this question, the researcher adopts a social constructionist perspective to study the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. For instance, one considers the answers given by the interviewees as social products produced by them in the context of specific socio-cultural locations. Thirdly, what are the complex relationships between different aspects of the surveillance system, the disciplinary environment and emotional labour? To answer this question, the researcher studies the intersection of the various themes extracted from the fieldwork data and the relationships between each other.

4.2 Methodological Study of Self-Discipline and Emotion Management

There have been limited studies on the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management (Ball, 2009; Newton, 1995). These two aspects have largely been studied in isolation, leaving a gap in the EPM and surveillance literatures. This thesis attempts to bring these two subjects together. However, owing to the elusiveness of these areas, this is a challenging task. More specifically, the difficulty of studying self-discipline and emotion management lies in the fact that they are both based on equivocal terms such as emotion and subjectivity. Researchers who have carried out studies involving these aspects have sought to convey a more concrete view of the terms in order to minimise bias in their findings. Through the use of quantitative methodologies they have attempted to study emotions and subjectivity impartially. Whilst this has helped researchers gain a more objective view, it has nevertheless failed to provide an in-depth assessment of internal events taking place within individuals. Stanley and Burrows (2001:18) claim that:

> *variable manifestations in any combination of subjective experience, physiological response and behavioural expression makes the study of this important field difficult. Agreed definitions and standardized ratings of severity improve research endeavors, but remain based on agreement that has no external criteria to confirm them.*

These methodological dilemmas and their complexity have led to the prevalence of deductive reasoning. Mainstream research has used quantitative techniques to examine issues concerning emotional experiences, applying the same quantitative principles as have been used for research into stress and job satisfaction. However, this over-emphasis on positivistic techniques has raised a number of problems. Weber (1978:1150) claims that "everything is rationally calculated, especially those seemingly imponderable and irrational emotional factors". Using quantitative measurement tools, the discourse has been based largely on rational elements. For instance, methods such as questionnaire surveys, laboratory experiments and longitudinal studies have led researchers to examine the subject from a cause (EPM) and effect (stress and job satisfaction) point of view (Alder and Ambrose, 2005; Henderson et al., 1998; Kolb and Aiello, 1996; Smith et al., 1992; Stanton and Barnes-Farrell, 1996; Stanton and Weiss, 2000; Stanton and Julian, 2002).

Methodological techniques used to study aspects linked to emotional experience tend to be quantitative, emphasising the individual as the unit of analysis (Briner, 2005). Such research tends to be somewhat uncritical, and rarely questions underlying assumptions or challenges existing theory. This can be explained by the fact that fundamental

concepts and empirical methods have remained almost unchanged and undeveloped over many years (Weiss, 2002). For example, although emotional experiences at work are considered largely in terms of stress and job satisfaction, there is great uncertainty about whether these terms actually measure how people feel. In the case of stress, the measures used are frequently non-specific, and relate more to attitudes than to feelings at work. Similarly, measures of job satisfaction are perhaps better considered as measures of attitude or cognition than as measures of affect or feelings (Weiss, 2002). Wellbeing may include elements such as judgment and cognition, but feelings such as mood and emotion are more significant. Rather than simply examining whether people feel "good" (satisfied) or "bad" (stressed), research must paint a much more detailed and richer picture of the numerous different feelings disciplined and managed at work (Briner, 2005:73).

A number of researchers have used surveys, as well as correlation analysis, to examine the issue of job satisfaction (e.g. Kornhauser and Sharp, 1932; Hoppock, 1935). The 1960s saw the development of important measurements of affect, when two key measures of job satisfaction, the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) and the Job Descriptive Index (JDI) were developed at the University of Minnesota and Cornell University respectively. Bradburn (1969) constructed the Positive and Negative Affect Scale, which attempted to measure positive and negative emotions independently of each other. While considerable research was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, the end of this period saw a rebirth of broader aspects of affect (Weiss and Brief, 2001:156). The 1980s marked a transitional period in the history of the study of affect in the workplace when emotional and cognitive components of job attitudes were openly

recognised for the first time. In 1990, Warr (1990) designed one of few measures of affective states to be used specifically in organisations. Mehrabian (1995, cited in Payne, 2004:111) also studied emotional states in the 1990s, introducing a deductive framework to develop quantitative measures of a comprehensive range of emotional states. During the 1990s, researchers also developed a general theory of affect at work (Weiss and Cropanzano, 1996), applied the concept of "emotional intelligence" to work experiences (Goleman, 1998) and paid increasing attention to the role of moods (Isen and Baron, 1991). For example, in 1996, Weiss and Cropanzano presented their affective events theory (AET), the focus of which was on analytically distinguishing emotion from satisfaction and discussing ways in which affect is experienced at work. Such self-report techniques may be seen as the most popular and widely-used measures of emotion. Larsen, Diener and Lucas (2002:84) claim that self-report measures rely on participants representing their experience of emotions using mood adjective checklists (MACL).

These studies of affect have influenced considerable subsequent research on emotional management using quantitative research tools. For example, in a study by Holman et al. (2002) on the effects of performance monitoring on emotional labour and wellbeing in call centres, the researchers used questionnaire scales to study 347 customer service agents. Regression analyses revealed that the performance-related content and the beneficial purpose of monitoring were positively related to wellbeing, while perceived intensity had a strong negative association with wellbeing. In a study by Stanton and Barnes-Farrell (1996) on telephone surveillance in call centres, a field experiment involving a sample of 163 service representatives was conducted. The respondents

completed a questionnaire measuring strain, perceived degree of surveillance and job control. Correlational and path analyses indicated that the strain associated with telephone surveillance could be explained by a loss of perceived control, even though service representatives had no direct control over the surveillance process itself. Moreover, Lewig and Dollard (2003) carried out a quantitative study on the emotional demands (emotional labour) of call centre work. They used a sample of 98 South Australian call centre workers to measure the relationship between emotional labour and job satisfaction. Totterdell and Holman (2003) undertook a study on emotion regulation in customer service roles, seeking to test a model of emotional labour. Participants completed ratings of emotion regulation, events, expressed and felt emotions, wellbeing and performance on 537 occasions and completed questionnaires containing individual and organisational measures. Multilevel analyses supported many aspects of the model but indicated that it must be implemented in terms of regulating emotion to achieve organisational goals.

Whilst these positivistic measurement methods have improved our understanding of various issues concerning affect and emotion management, they have, nevertheless, raised a number of methodological problems. Deductive approaches to the study of affective responses do not reveal connections between self-discipline and emotion management. Weiss and Brief (2001:143) claim that "by the end of the decade, the questionnaire clearly dominated the scene ... [W]as this focus on facts a meta analyst's dream? Perhaps, but it also was the blueprint for the collection of an enormous pot of disjointed, incoherent findings." Few studies of emotion management have challenged methodological assumptions, and researchers have not questioned the reliability of

deductive methodologies (Mohr, 1982) but have taken them for granted. For example, do questionnaires and surveys explain emotion management within organisations? If so, why have such methods, in the past as well as in the present, given rise to contradictions and inconsistencies? Individuals have a propensity to react and respond according to innate psychological and emotional states (Huczynski and Buchanan, 2007). For example, a person at work might be managing happy emotions one day and anger on another day. Evison (2001:263) argues that "for maximum impact on organizations, emotion management needs separating from clinical theory and practices from stress management".

Studying an individual requires an understanding of a variety of internal and external elements. It is inappropriate dispassionately to pick out objects of attention or reflect pre-established inner states. The unanticipated senses experienced by individuals in different situations should not be disregarded. Different aspects which help constitute and shape self-discipline and emotion management phenomena should be taken into account. Taylor (1971:10) claims that "many, including myself, would like to argue that these notions about the sciences of man are sterile, that we cannot come to understand important dimensions of human life within the bounds set by this epistemological orientation". Scientific evaluation tools do not take into account changing contexts and transformed meanings. It is important to note that categories of evaluation are not purely individual: they are socially produced and reproduced. In the same manner as language is constitutive of human existence, so too are cultural frameworks of evaluation (Harré, 1986).

In terms of EPM and call centres, a number of authors have carried out quantitative studies. Isic, Dormann and Zapf (1999) used quantitative methods to study companies in Germany, involving 250 call agents from 14 call centres. Baumgartner, Good and Udris (2002) undertook a Swiss study of 242 call agents, in which they used scales to compare a variety of factors such as psycho-social well-being, job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Holman and Wall (2002) used cross-sectional and longitudinal methods to examine job control in the call centre of a national UK bank. Carayon (1994) used a deductive methodology to measure 14 performance monitoring characteristics: performance data were parallelled with employee data, and associations were found in relation to depression, anger and fatigue. Chalykoff and Kochan (1989) numerically studied the relationship between job satisfaction and immediacy of feedback, illustrating various rating criteria.

Most researchers, therefore, have used quantitative methods to gather and analyse data concerning emotional experience (Goldberger and Breznitz, 1993). Quantitative methodologies seem better suited to the identification of trends and outcomes. As the term "quantitative" suggests, there is a broad concern with the collection and analysis of data in numeric form. However, the data are usually gathered using formally structured research instruments, which do not offer the flexibility to probe the inner world of individuals. Essentially, analysis of the behaviour, attitudes and motivation of people has been partial. One of the research questions of this thesis addresses this problem by asking what aspects do call centre agents working under EPM regard as significant when exercising self-discipline and emotion management. To answer this question, the researcher seeks to interprete the subjective and idiosyncratic experiences of individuals

exercising emotion management under EPM setting. A qualitative study is more suited to examining the hidden elements of self-discipline and emotion management because it can help probe more deeply into the subjective world of individuals concerning these two aspects.

4.3 Qualitative Research

This research adopted a qualitative methodology to collect and analyse the data, giving the opportunity to be spontaneous and flexible in exploring phenomena in their natural environment. As Bryman (1989) and Hakim (1982) note, qualitative methodologies may be seen as the most applicable means of inquiry to identify the nature of organisational processes (e.g. EPM). It has also been argued that a qualitative methodology is more applicable to studies concerned with understanding the experiences of individuals and their own accounts of their attitudes, motivation and behaviour (Flick, 2002; Neuman, 2000). In such a situation, the researcher may explore a smaller numbers of instances, each of which are viewed as being illuminating in themselves, and obtain a deeper, rather than broader understanding (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1996). The emphasis is on an entire organisation, paying greater attention to detail in order to understand and document relationships between circumstances, events, individuals, processes and decisions. Therefore, the advantage of using a qualitative methodology in this study was that it allowed for a more flexible way of gathering data, whilst generating more subjective information regarding electronic monitoring. This data collection method provided the opportunity to study the experiences of people working under EPM, while avoiding the individualistic nature of surveys and other quantitative measurements.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000:8) argue that "qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning." Unlike quantitative techniques, qualitative methods take more fully into account the "world of lived experience because this is where individual belief and action intersect with culture" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:8). Flick (1998:3, cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:9) maintains that quantitative approaches have been used for the purposes of isolating "causes and effects ... operationalizing theoretical relations ... [and] measuring and ... quantifying phenomena ... allowing the generalization of findings". He suggests that rapid social change is "confronting social researchers with new social contexts and perspectives", forcing researchers to use inductive rather than traditional deductive methodologies.

Taking into consideration the limitations of the positivist approach and historical developments in the examination of self-discipline and emotion management, a qualitative research methodology was used for the collection (semi-structured interviews), analysis (thematic coding) and presentation (single case study) of the data. The research method selected provides a deeper understanding of various social phenomena in relation to EPM, self-discipline and emotion management (Silverman, 2000:8). Other researchers have also carried out studies on emotions using a qualitative methodology (Johnson, 2009; Gabb, 2009).

4.4 Epistemological Considerations and Research Design

This section discusses the epistemological position selected for the present research and its association with the overall research design. It includes a discussion of the social constructionist perspective, and the rationale for adopting a case study approach to the emotions.

One of the research questions addressed in this thesis examines what are the views, values, beliefs and ideologies of people working within this electronic monitoring context? To answer this question, the researcher adopts a social constructionist perspective to study the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. For instance, one considers the answers given by the interviewees as social products produced by them in the context of specific socio-cultural locations. More specifically, a social constructionist theoretical perspective was the most appropriate for this study because self-discipline and emotion management are always experienced, understood and named through social and cultural processes. They are processes learnt since childhood from parents, teachers and others (Burkitt, 1997; Thompson and Meyer, 2007). Norms and expectations relating to emotions are generated and reproduced through social relationships early in life (Gordon, 2011; Grusec, 2011**)**. Herriot (2001:307) asserts that emotional experiences are dependent on social relationships and are socially constructed: "They originate with others, refer back to the self, and always take others into account." Social relationships are conducted through the performance of social roles in particular situations (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). Such role-playing is imbued with social meaning, often expressed through language during social exchange. Self-discipline and emotion management are thus inter-subjective rather than

individual phenomena, constituted in relations between people (Griffiths, 1995, cited in Lupton, 1998:16).

The social constructionist approach does not reject the idea that there is an innate component to emotions, but it emphasises that every culture has its own evaluations that call forth self-discipline and emotion management tactics to match social practices. Culture determines how self-discipline or emotion management can be expressed and what kinds of expression are acceptable. It influences which situations lead to particular self-discipline or emotion management strategies (Hanninen, 2007:1). Lutz (1985:65) describes emotions as "culturally constructed judgments: that is, as aspects of cultural meaning systems people use in attempting to understand the situations in which they find themselves". As such, self-discipline and emotion management are viewed as dynamic and changeable processes, depending on historical, social and political contexts. Harré (1991:142) claims that one "does" rather than "has" an emotion.

The social constructionist perspective, therefore, was the most suitable for this thesis because it helped provide a better understanding of the intersection between EPM and the socio-cultural environment, enabling the more effective collection and analysis of rich, deep and complex information about individuals working in an electronic surveillance context. There is an inevitable historical and socio-cultural dimension to electronic performance monitoring (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:197). People working under this form of technology construct their interpretations against a backdrop of shared understanding, practices and language (Edwards and Potter, 1992). The social constructionist perspective was therefore the most appropriate for this study as it helped in the analysis of subjective information regarding the crossover between self-discipline

and emotion management and the role played by the EPM environment (Potter and Edwards, 2001).

4.5 Single Case Study Approach

A single case study approach was used to present the interpretations of respondents. The analytical structure of a case study report includes an introduction to the topic and its context, a presentation of the data and analysis, and a discussion of the results (Sarantakos, 2005:410).

One of the research questions of this thesis examines the complex relationships between different aspects of the surveillance system, the disciplinary environment and emotional labour. The single case study approach helps answer this question by exmining the intersection of the various themes extracted from the fieldwork data and the relationships between each other. More specifically, exponents of the single case study design often favour qualitative methods because these are viewed as particularly helpful in the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case (Bryman, 2001:48). Case studies are usually qualitative in nature (Robson, 2011:136). The case study approach has a long history. Hamel (1993) traces its history within social science, while Gerring (2006) refers to case studies in areas as disparate as anthropology, archaeology, business studies, education, international relations, marketing, medicine, organisational behavior, politics, psychology, public administration, public health, social work and sociology (Robson, 2011:135). Yin (1993) states that from a research strategy point of view a case study may be defined as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident", using multiple sources of evidence.

Some of the best known sociological studies are based on case study design. These include research on a single organisation, such as studies of factories by Burawoy (1979), Pollert (1981) and Cavendish (1982) or of management in organisations such as Pettigrew's (1985) work on Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI), or of pilferage in a single location like a bakery (Ditton, 1977), or of a single police service (Holdaway, 1983). Case study analysis can be used effectively with social constructionism. The case study methodology is a way of establishing valid and reliable evidence for the research process, as well as presenting findings which result from the research. Remenyi et al. (1998:50) maintain that a case study is a research tactic for the social scientist. It is a qualitative method that has been adopted and developed by many social constructionists (Edwards, 1999; Harré, 1986; Potter, 1996; Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001).

However, there are weaknesses in the case study approach. No method is free of problems, and case studies are no exception. Remenyi et al. (1998:170) claim that it is naïve to assert that any form of research, or perhaps human activity generally, is without bias. Thus, bias cannot be totally eliminated but should be recognised and its implications acknowledged and accepted (Yin, 2003). Many problems with case studies have been identified. For example, the results may relate to the unit of analysis only and allow no inductive generalisations. The findings may comprise personal impressions and biases, giving no assurance of objectivity, validity and reliability. The research may not be replicable, and there is generally limited access to the field and to the personal and subjective information on which case studies are based. Even the presence of the researcher in the field may cause distortions (Sarantakos, 2005:212). Tsoukas (2009:290) gives examples of Small-N research using case studies. He claims that

particular cases, such as fast-food restaurants (e.g. Macdonalds), developed at certain moments of historical time, help us to expand our previous understanding of rationalization. Specific cases help further to specify generic concepts. To the extent this happens, accumulation of knowledge becomes possible.

Case studies may not meet the requirements of objectivist methodologies, just as quantitative methods may not meet the requirements of interpretivist designs (Sarantakos, 2005:217). It has been argued that nothing can be deduced from a single case study, but this ignores the fact that case studies, like experiments, may be generalisable and used to develop theoretical propositions, even if they do not represent a sub-sample of a particular population or universe (Yin, 2003). The goal is to expand and generalise theories rather than enumerate frequencies. Another objection is that case studies are too time-consuming and expensive and generate too much documentation. Although case study research is frequently expensive, at least in terms of the researcher's time, case studies need not be long or create excessive documentation. In fact, a case study can be conducted on a low budget by telephone and without leaving the library (Remenyi et al., 1998:168).

The main problem of case studies is a potential lack of generalisability (Robson, 2011:135). A single case study, like a single experiment, can establish the existence of a phenomenon, which in business studies may be adequate for the purposes of exploratory research. One case study, like one experiment, cannot provide sufficient evidence to be able to make robust generalisations, but in business studies this may not be essential (Remenyi et al., 1998:169). It is important to bear in mind Harré's (1972) observation that "we cannot describe the world in the absence of any prior understanding of it, in the

absence of any theory". However, case studies are not designed primarily to measure the frequency of events, but rather to support or reject theoretical propositions or conjectures relating to issues about the nature of an event, and in business studies this often relates to who, why and how. Much of the research work undertaken in business and management specifically addresses issues such as who made what decisions, why those decisions were made and how they were implemented, evaluated, terminated and so on (Remenyi et al., 1998:169). The crucial question is not whether the findings can be generalised to a wider universe, but how well the researcher generates theory out of the findings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Yin, 1984). Such a view places case study research firmly in the inductive tradition of the relationship between theory and research. Thus, case studies can be associated with both theory generation and theory testing (Bryman, 2001:51).

Case studies are not perfectly objective due to biases of both supplier and recipient of the information. Indeed, case studies are sometimes said to lack rigour and objectivity (McCutcheon and Meredith, 1993). A single case study must be approached with caution, primarily due to the problem of subjectivity and bias. There may be problems in capturing evidence from witnesses, as well as analysing or even reading evidence subjectively after it has been recorded. Bias is everywhere, but it is the primary function of the researcher to minimise or at least identify biases (Remenyi et al., 1998:169). Three difficulties in obtaining unbiased testimonials from observers are that individuals may not be able to recall events accurately, they may not disclose important feelings, or they may be suspicious of revealing information that might reflect poorly on themselves or their superiors (Remenyi et al., 1998:170).

Nonetheless, the single case study approach has many merits. Case studies present the world through the researcher's eyes and, in the process, may reveal previously unobserved aspects (Donmoyer, 2000:63, cited in Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000). Case studies are being increasingly used in business and management studies as an approach to evidence collection. The scope for using case studies is extensive, ranging from individuals, to business groups, to fiscal policy (Remenyi et al., 1998:166). Sarantakos (2005:212) suggests a number of advantages of case studies: they allow in-depth research and produce first-hand information that covers a whole unit, not only small aspects of it; they encourage familiarity and close contact with informants and imply long-term contacts and personal experiences in the field, focusing on direct and verifiable life experiences; and they use a variety of interrelated methods and sources. According to Schramm (1971, cited in Remenyi et al., 1998:166), a case study tries to illuminate a decision or a set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented and with what result.

In a single case study, the case is the situation, individual, group, organisation or whatever is of interest. Sometimes only by looking carefully at a practical, real-life instance can a full picture be obtained of the interaction of variables or events. A case study allows the investigator to concentrate on specific instances in order to identify detailed interactive processes which may be crucial, but which are not transparent to a large-scale survey. It may illustrate relationships, corporate political issues and patterns of influence in particular contexts (Remenyi et al., 1998:51). The aim of a case study is to provide a rich, multi-dimensional picture of the situation being studied (Remenyi et al., 1998:166).

Case studies allow for the meaningful exploration of characteristics of real-life events, such as managerial processes, the maturation of industries or power struggles in organisations (Remenyi et al., 1998:163). Bell (1993, cited in Remenyi et al., 1998:165) describes the case study approach as an umbrella term for a family of research methods having in common the decision to focus on an enquiry around a specific instance or event. The case study approach emphasises a total or holistic situation as a combination of different factors, and this orientation is most appropriate when dealing with the complexity of business and management research issues. A single case study may focus on a description of a process or sequence of events in which a behaviour occurs, or the study of individual or group behaviour in its social setting. Using case studies, it is possible to ascertain the number and variety of traits, qualities and habits combined in a particular instance. Case studies provide real-time information that can be as up-to-date as the researcher requires, making this approach ideal for contemporary issues and especially relevant in the fast-changing world of business and management studies (Remenyi et al., 1998:167).

As already mentioned, case study research has often been criticised on the grounds that its findings are not generalisable, especially by comparison with those of survey research (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000:98). However, Stake (2000:20, cited in Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000) argues that case studies facilitate learning on the part of those who use them; and that this involves "naturalistic generalization", a quite different type of generalisation from that which is characteristic of science (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000:98). A case study need not be generalisable to be valid. As a general rule, case studies are a preferred research tactic when how or why

questions are being examined, when the researcher has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Remenyi et al., 1998:187). Case studies are often the preferred method of research because they harmonise epistemologically with the reader's experience, forming a natural basis for generalisation (Stake, 2000:20, cited in Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000). The researcher seeks to check and improve the quality of empirical generalisations and provide evidence to support them, considering respects in which the target population might be heterogeneous. In other words, the researcher will take into account how the case being studied may be typical or atypical in relevant respects – or, indeed, of what population it might be typical. In short, it is necessary to compare the characteristics of the case being studied with available information about the population to which generalisation is intended (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000:105).

A single case study approach is particularly well suited to analysing the motivations, actions and unforseen consequences of technological change (Yin, 1994; Kitay and Callus, 1998), employing a variety of data collection strategies to analyse a complex set of social processes. Case studies are widely used in the study of human affairs because they are down-to-earth and attention-holding (Stake, 2000:20, cited in Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000). The current research adopted this approach to examine how different individuals think about, express and give meaning to their self-discipline and emotion management experiences when working under electronic monitoring. In particular, the research design focused on people's descriptions of their emotional experience, and their understandings of self-discipline and emotional management (Denzin, 1988). The explanations given by interviewees in this study are social products

generated by them in the context of specific social, historical and cultural locations (Burkitt, 1997). Descriptions given by interviewees offered insights into their self-discipline and emotion management experiences when working under electronic monitoring. The aim of this study was to gather accounts of everyday experiences and descriptions of incidents relating to self-discipline and emotion management while working under electronic monitoring (Boudens, 2005) in order to examine how people articulate their electronic monitoring experiences. The language used by respondents in talking about EPM conveyed an understanding of their thoughts, feelings and sensory experiences (Gomm et al., 2000; Yates, 1989). Interview responses were also transcribed in such a way as to preserve all information that affected interpretation (e.g. pauses, emphasis, non-verbal communication).

Using a single case study approach, the researcher was in a position to listen to people's accounts of what happens when people work under EPM and what is significant. External influences, such as time period, physical surroundings and organisational culture, as well as the immediate EPM setting, played a key role in studying the emotions involved while working under electronic monitoring. Miles and Huberman (1984:27) suggest that in some circumstances the term "site" might be preferable "because it reminds us that a 'case' always occurs in a specified social and physical setting: we cannot study individual cases devoid of their context in a way that a quantitative researcher often does". In the responses, details of events were entrenched in EPM surroundings (Gomm et al., 2000).

The adoption of a single case study approach as a means of constructing a qualitative framework of enquiry granted a number of benefits. For instance, the researcher was

able to observe various restrictions regarding the contexts in which individuals operated, such as power relations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:11), helping to provide a deeper understanding of the various experiences of people working under electronic surveillance, especially in relation to the social and subjective (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996). The case study method offered the opportunity to think of emotions as more than single words or decontextualised phenomena (Boudens, 2005:1288), and to view experiences as events, plots, happenings or in the form of dynamic human action and interaction, to identify sequences of understandings, and look at ways in which particular experiences related to particular events. It also enabled the researcher to examine experiences of self-discipline and emotion management in the context of the environment, rather than being isolated within the individual. Common threads of case studies allow insights into shared elements of human experience and enable general meanings to emerge from participant interpretations.

Case studies have been used in previous research studies on electronic monitoring. Valsecchi (2006:123), for example, used a case study method to investigate the role of ICTs in controlling Italian, home-located call centre operators and how technology complemented other managerial practices. In Callaghan and Thompson's (2001:13) study, semi-structured interviews were used and a case study was adopted to present and analyse the data, illustrating how management had developed a new form of structural control. Theoretically it drew heavily on Edwards' (1979) concept of technical control, but this was extended and modified, and combined with bureaucratic control, which influences the social structure of the workplace. Russell (2007:132) used open-ended interview questions and a case study approach to examine technological change in a call

centre. This revealed the distance that often separates managerial intentions in introducing a new technology from outcomes associated with workers' use of it. Further case study research by Ball (2001, 2011) and Ball and Wilson (2000) helped parameterise the study of this thesis and frame some of the severe emotional reactions reported in the data. Particularly, Ball (2010:294) used interviews and an in-depth single case study to examine a South African outsourcer, arguing that routine data protection (DP) compliance is predominantly driven by the employment relationship and the client contract, and making reference to power, resistance and subjectivity. Moreover, in Ball and Wilson's (2000:539) research, a case study method was used to examine two UK financial services organisations. By examining subject positions in interpretive repertoires, they demonstrated how power, control and resistance are constituted at an individual level and are specifically linked to the use (and abuse) of CBPM technology. Similar to this thesis, social dynamics and social relations are taken into cosinderation.

4.6 Context of Data Collection

The context of data collection was also based on the research questions of this thesis. For example, what aspects do call centre agents working under EPM regard as significant when exercising self-discipline and emotion management? What are the views, values, beliefs and ideologies of people working within this electronic monitoring context? What are the complex relationships between different aspects of the surveillance system, the disciplinary environment and emotional labour?

In selecting an organisation to study, two questions were asked: does the context or setting have a significant impact on the phenomenon of interest in terms of the ability to obtain a comprehensive picture of it; and does the context or setting have a significant

impact on the phenomenon of interest in terms of the ability to generalise the results of the analysis? One organisation which fulfilled the criteria of the research was chosen for study. For confidentiality purposes, a fictitious name, 'Cy-research', is used to refer to the company studied. This study was undertaken in the largest research company in Cyprus, which employs in excess of 150 employees. More information on the organisation studied can be found in Section 4.1.

The sampling framework used to collect the data for this research was based on the social constructionist perspective discussed in Section 3.4. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:370) argue that sampling strategies "vary according to the paradigm that is being employed. Every instance of a case or process bears the stamp of the general class or phenomena to which it belongs." In the present study, as in much qualitative research, theoretical or purposive sampling was used: groups, settings and individuals were sought where, and for whom, the processes being studied were most likely to take place. At the same time, a process of constant comparison of groups, concepts and observations was carried out in order to improve the researcher's understanding of the topic under investigation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:370). As the categories were refined and developed as theoretical constructs, gaps were found in the data. The researcher then returned to the site to collect more data to fill these conceptual gaps (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:519).

Theoretical sampling was more appropriate than random sampling because it allowed data on the behaviours and feelings of people working under EPM to be collected in a more subjective manner. Marshall (1996:523) argues that studying a random sample in qualitative research "is not the most effective way of developing an understanding of

complex issues relating to human behaviour". This is because it is impossible to select a truly random sample when relevant characteristics of the whole population under study are unknown so there is no evidence "that the values, beliefs and attitudes that form the core of qualitative investigation are normally distributed, making the probability approach inappropriate". In contrast, the use of theoretical sampling in this research offered the opportunity to explain dimensions of the data categories, to ascertain the contexts in which these dimensions or properties are relevant, to indicate the conditions under which they surface, are maintained and vary, and to establish their consequences. Moreover, the focus on studying process combined with theoretical sampling to define the limits of the categories helped reveal gaps between categories. Comparative methods delineated the conditions under which they come to be associated with other categories. Having decided which categories best explained what was happening in the study, these were treated as concepts, which were useful in providing an understanding of many events and problems in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:520).

Various aspects were taken into account in this research with regard to the sampling of appropriate units (e.g. people, organisation). As in Flick's (1996) study of technology, social groups were defined in advance in the sampling. Three sampling steps were implemented: cases and groups of cases were sampled while collecting the data; material sampling and sampling within the material was undertaken while interpreting the information; and presentational sampling was employed in presenting the findings (Flick, 2002:62). With regard to data collection, sampling was linked with decisions on which individuals to interview and from which groups these would be drawn. In terms

of interpreting the information collected from interviews, a decision was taken about which interviews were most suitable for transcription and interpretation (material sampling). Regarding presentation of the data, decisions had to be made on the best means of presenting the findings derived from sampling (Flick, 2002), for example which parts of the text could best be used to demonstrate the findings (presentational sampling).

In terms of sampling events, the researcher took into consideration times, regular social occurrences and special occasions. The times chosen for sampling varied according to the shifts of the telephone research agents. Some worked in the mornings (08:30-13:00) and others worked in the afternoons (15:00-18:00). The sample period lasted for three months. As the everyday procedures followed in the organisation were the same throughout the year, seasonality did not influence the sample process. Regular social occurrences and special occasions also played a role in sampling. For example, sometimes people had to move away from their desks or offices to talk to colleagues, friends and managers, or to go on breaks or to the toilet. This influenced their self-discipline and emotion management tactics, in that they detached themselves temporarily from EPM and had to log out of the computer system and remove their ear sets.

The sample comprised 20 respondents who were telephone agents using the telephone to carry out research studies. This allowed distinctions to be made regarding their emotions towards the electronic monitoring environment. Sample sizes for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. In a study of qualitative methods for health research, Green and Thorogood (2009:120) claim that the

"experience of most qualitative researchers is that in interview studies little that is 'new' comes out of transcripts after you have interviewed 20 or so people". Creswell (1998:64) argues that 20 to 30 interviews are sufficient for a study. Similarly, Bertaux (1981:35) maintains that 15 interviews are the smallest acceptable sample size. Atran, Medin and Ross (2005:753) argue that in some of their studies "as few as 10 informants were needed to reliably establish a consensus".

Frequencies are rarely significant in qualitative research because a single incident in the data may potentially be as useful as many in providing an understanding of a topic (Mason, 2010). Qualitative research, therefore, is concerned with meaning rather than making generalised hypothesis statements. Tsoukas (2009:299) claims that small studies "do not present a map but a portrait of the world that acts as an aid to perception". In other words, studies with small samples may often contribute more to knowledge than larger scale studies because they are more in touch with the reality of the findings:

> *The distinctive contribution of small-N studies is better appreciated if it is seen through the epistemology of the particular, rather than through the epistemology of the general. The particular is not subsumed into the general; it rather further specifies the general. Small-N studies help us to define the distinctions through which we understand general processes and by so doing provide heuristic generalizations* (Tsoukas, 2009:298).

Since small studies, are frequently, case studies and ethnographies, a statistical view of generalization is not pertinent. Case studies are chosen mainly because they are

genuinely interesting, original and unique. Small studies such as the one in this thesis, are uniquely capable for aiding researchers, through the strong familiarity with the reality at hand; researchers create advance forms of learning which are helpful in generating new insights, namely making more incisive distinctions. Researchers have a better chance to be creative since proximity to reality and feedback from the object of study force researchers to more effectively test out conceptions of what is going on (Tsoukas, 2009:29).

Often, the richness of small studies takes into consideration the contextual background, the temporarily of events and actors' viewpoints (Tsoukas, 2009:289). The unique theoretical contribution of small studies stems from seeing specific cases as opportunities for further refining our previous conceptualization of general processes (Tsoukas (2009:286). In Small studies (such as in this thesis), researchers notice similarities with processes described in other studies and, in an effort to explain for the specificity of the particular case under study they draw new distinctions and, thus, further refine what is presently known. Without the specificity of the particular case, new distinctions will not be possible. And without the help of previous conceptualizations, theoretical improvement will be partial. It is not so much analytical generalization that small studies aid, as analytical refinement. By doing so, the desire for generality is not the passion for considering specific occurrences under general laws or mechanisms, but the craving for a clearer view – higher elucidation (Tsoukas, 2009:287).

Tsoukas (2009:294) provides a number of examples which support these points: Mintzberg's (1973) classic study of managerial work is not just a study of the daily

routines of five individuals who simply occupy managerial posts; it claims to be a study of what managers do – it elucidates some general features of managerial roles and tasks. The same relates to Orr's (1996) ethnographic study of the photocopier technicians, Feldman's (2000) case study of organizational routines in a US university, the study of flute makers by Cook and Yanow (1996) and Buchanan's (1999) study of a single manager's political behavior in the process of organizational change. All of these studies, by offering rich descriptions of the particular phenomena, reveal general processes operating in a small-scale world. Whilst, they are not representative samples of larger populations, they nevertheless, are reflections of larger phenomena (Tsoukas, 2009:294).

Therefore, the small-studies researcher in this thesis is confronted with the questions, 'what is really going on here?', 'what more general process may be responsible for the phenomenon at hand?' and 'what is the case of?' The task of the researcher in this thesis is to make the argument for the case in hand, namely to show that the phenomenon studied (e.g. crossover between self-discipline and emotion management) is a case of some larger forces that take a particular shape and give results in a specific setting (e.g. EPM environment) (Tsoukas, 2009:296).

In the present study, this was largely achieved through saturation of data. By carefully saturating the data, it was deduced that more than 20 interviews were unnecessary. Glaser and Strauss (1967) claim that sample size in the majority of qualitative studies should generally follow the concept of saturation, allowing smaller sample sizes to be used. Charmaz (2006:114, cited in Mason, 2010) suggests that a small study with "modest claims" may achieve saturation quicker than a study aiming to describe a

process that spans disciplines. The sample chosen in this study was large enough to ensure that most important ideas were uncovered. If the sample had been too large, there would have been a risk of the data becoming repetitive and, eventually, superfluous (Mason, 2010).

Other researchers have also used small sample sizes in their studies. In a qualitative study by Gabb (2009), a relatively small sample size of 24 participants was used to research family relationships. He successfully collected and analysed data from parents and children living in the north of England, comprising 10 families in total (nine mothers, five fathers and 10 children). Griffin and Hauser (1993, cited in Mason, 2010) re-analysed data from their own study on customers of portable food containers. They examined the number of customer needs uncovered by in-depth interviews and focus groups and concluded that 20 to 30 in-depth interviews would be needed to uncover 90 to 95 per cent of all customer needs. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006:78, cited in Mason, 2010) carried out a systematic analysis of their own data from a study of 60 women involved in reproductive health care in Africa. They examined the codes developed from their 60 interviews in order to assess the point at which their data returned no new codes and were therefore saturated. Their findings suggested that data saturation occurred at a very early stage. Of the 36 codes developed for their study, 34 were developed from their first six interviews, and 35 were developed after 12. Their conclusion was that, for studies with a high level of homogeneity among the population, "a sample of six interviews may be sufficient to enable development of meaningful themes and useful interpretations" (Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006:78, cited in Mason, 2010).

When sampling by relationship, factors such as the structure, affect and purposes of the relationships were taken into consideration. With regard to structure, the researcher chose to examine the interactions of people working as a group under EPM, for example how various groups of people (supervisor/employee, employee/employee) working in the organisation influenced each other to self-discipline and control their emotions. This provided the opportunity to collect valuable information regarding social exchanges and power relations between individuals working under electronic monitoring. Moreover, by including supervisors in the interviews, it was possible to study whether people occupying higher-level positions in the organisation utilised EPM as a tool to gain greater power over their subordinates.

By examining both groups of people with an optimistic view of the future and groups that had experienced recent lay-offs or downsizing as a result of the economic crisis, it was possible to identify more clearly how self-discipline and emotion management are experienced under EPM. The sampling process took into account the purpose or nature of relationships between different people.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the method of data collection because this fitted well with the objective of the thesis. Flick (2000:204) states that semi-structured interviews are the primary method used when adopting a case study approach. This method of collecting data provided insights into the self-discipline and emotion management experiences of the participants and how they make sense of these experiences in their wider environment. In particular, the use of interviews enabled respondents to describe their experiences of working under electronic monitoring. The fact that individuals' experiences were remembered in the form of incidents allowed the

researcher to extract descriptions of particular events or features of the interviewees' daily lives (Bates, 2004). Semi-structured interviews offer a means of gathering information from all segments of the population, regardless of age, social class or level of literacy (Boudens, 2005:1288).

Semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to consider self-discipline and emotion management in the context of events, plots and happenings, or in the form of dynamic human action and interaction. Sequences of self-discipline and emotion management elements were identified, taking into consideration ways in which particular experiences related to particular events.

Prior to the interviews, an interview schedule was prepared, based on the research objective of the thesis. The interview questions concentrated on eliciting answers relating to the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. At the beginning of each interview, the researcher introduced himself and explained his background, training and interest in the area of enquiry, as well as the purpose and nature of the study and how the respondent had been selected. Respondents were informed that there were no right or wrong answers, and given assurance that they would remain anonymous and that their responses would be treated in strictest confidence. Permission was sought to voice-record and make notes during interviews, and respondents were informed that they were allowed to interrupt and ask for clarification. The interviews began with easy, non-threatening questions to create a more relaxed discussion environment. Later on, more in-depth questions were asked on the topic of the thesis, and additional questions surfaced from the answers obtained from the respondents (Robson, 2011:288).

The researcher followed all required ethical procedures in the collection, analysis and presentation of the data. More specifically, the subjects agreed to participate voluntarily in the interviews. Participants signed a consent form, through which they were made aware of the procedures and risks involved in the study. Anonymity and confidentiality were preserved in order to protect the rights of respondents.

4.7 Data Analysis: Thematic Coding

This section discusses the approach used to analyse the data collected. It also explains why the researcher selected thematic coding as the method of analysis, how this technique was implemented, and the steps taken to evaluate important information. Fundamentally, the analysis was based on the research questions of the thesis. For instance, what aspects do call centre agents working under EPM regard as significant when exercising self-discipline and emotion management? What are the views, values, beliefs and ideologies of people working within this electronic monitoring context? What are the complex relationships between different aspects of the surveillance system, the disciplinary environment and emotional labour?

More specifically, the main interest when analysing the interviews was the underlying social constructs assumed or played out within the conversation or text. The researcher discerned the types of tools and strategies used by individuals engaged in communication, such as slowing their speech for emphasis, using metaphors and choosing particular words to display affect. The researcher attempted to identify categories, themes, ideas, views and roles within the text itself in order to identify commonly shared patterns of talking. In terms of conversational data, the researcher used transcripts of the conversations as a source (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

4.7.1 Thematic Coding

Thematic coding was well aligned with the case study approach, given the social constructionist perspective adopted in this study (Flick, 2002; Harré, 1986; Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). Flick (2002) argues that one of the the best ways to code data from semi-structured interviews is thematic coding. Thematic coding was first developed by Anselm Strauss to examine the social distribution of perspectives on a phenomenon or a process (1987, cited in Flick, 2002:185). It is a qualitative process that can be used effectively to analyse subjective information (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This method of interpreting information requires researchers to encode various types of information based on respondents' characteristics (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Thematic analysis can be used as a way of systematically observing a person, an interaction, a group, a situation, an organization or a culture (Miles and Huberman, 1984). In other words, it gives researchers the opportunity to analyse different kinds of information in an organised way, in order to enhance the truthfulness of their understanding of observations about people, events, situations and organisations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Thematic coding also allows for the collection of qualitative information in a way that helps communication with other researchers (Miles and Huberman, 1984). It may help connect the ideas of people carrying out research in different disciplines (psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, art history, political science, economics, mathematics, chemistry, etc.). It also enables researchers to use qualitative techniques to communicate their observations and findings more easily to others who are using alternative methods. For researchers wishing to translate their methods and results into forms accessible to

researchers in other fields, thematic analysis may improve communication between positivistic and interpretive scientists, between testers and developers of ideas, and between builders of theories and social constructionists (Silverman, 1993). Therefore, thematic analysis allows for a more complete understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

In the same way that case study analysis describes the answers of participants to understand emotional experiences in a social environment, thematic analysis explores displays and feelings relating to self-discipline and emotion management in interactions of respondents in specific cultural surroundings (Harré and Gillet, 1994:160, cited in Hanninen, 2007).). Therefore, case study and thematic perspectives help understand self-discipline and emotion management factors that are socially and historically defined (Edwards, 1997:179). In this thesis, a thematic perspective played a major role in analysing the case study interpretations of participants. It provided a framework in which text collected during the interviews could be explored using a case study approach. A thematic point of view provided a better understanding of the socio-cultural messages verbally and non-verbally articulated by respondents, enabling the accounts of interviewees regarding social influence to be more clearly perceived and analysed.

A thematic standpoint helped the researcher to reflect on the language used by the respondents and to draw conclusions from a socio-cultural point of view. Using this type of approach enabled more effective study of underlying social structures within the dialogues (Flick, 2002:200) and reflection on participants' conversational versions of events (memories, discussions and formulations), particularly in relation to affect (Flick, 2002:200). More specifically, it provided a better understanding of how people in the

call centre described and brought into play emotions in their everyday talk. For instance, participants recounted experiences and told stories to inform, instruct, entertain, impress, empower and even cathart. Edwards and Potter (1992:28) claim that a thematic viewpoint helps understand the "content of talk, its subject matter" and its social organisation. Therefore, in this thesis, language was the medium through which meaning and socially constructed reality was studied. Language provided access to subjective experience and insights into conceptions of self and identity, and opened up new ways of studying memory, thought, socialisation and culture.

A thematic perspective relies on the medium of conversation to understand the interpretations of participants. The researcher tried to understand how participants constructed their own versions of events, and how they used discourse to maintain or construct their own identity. Hence, the case study approach regarded self-discipline and emotion management as thematic phenomena to be studied as part of how talk performs social actions (Edwards 1997:187).

Thematic coding may be used with data collection methods that "seek to guarantee comparability by defining topics and at the same time remaining open to the views related to them" (Flick, 2002:185). This procedure for coding information is allied with the social constructionist theoretical perspective and the case study approach adopted in this research. The theoretical background of thematic coding is the multiplicity of social worlds assumed in the concept of social representation (Flick, 2002:190). Moscovici (1973:xvii, cited in Flick, 2002:24) describes social representation as:

> *a system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function:*
>
> *first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient*

> *themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community, by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history.*

The objective of thematic coding is to analyse the impact of the social environment on a phenomenon or process (e.g. EPM, crossover between self-discipline and emotion management) (Flick, 2002). Thematic coding allowed the researcher to exercise trustworthiness and authenticity in his research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:159), which would not have been possible with positivistic methods. It also facilitated the analysis of multifaceted and complex information about individuals in electronic surveillance contexts and how social phenomena are constructed by groups and individuals around a technological apparatus such as EPM. Moreover, thematic coding provided the opportunity to analyse more subjective information regarding the experiences of self-discipline and emotion management of people working under EPM (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:159). The use of thematic coding in a topic relating to technology is consistent with Flick's analysis of studies of technological change (Flick, 1995; 2000; 2002).

A number of interesting questions were raised in the present study through this form of analysis. For example, with regard to the conditions in which individuals work, why had EPM been installed in the organisation, what had led to this situation, and what was the background to introducing various monitoring techniques within the organisation? With

regard to interactions between actors, who acted under EPM (e.g. supervisors/employees, employees/employees) and what happened to them? What strategies and tactics were adopted to manage problems and how did people use them to handle situations, e.g. suppression, adaptation, avoidance? What were the consequences of working under electronic surveillance, and what emotions did people discipline and manage while working under EPM?

Hence, thematic analysis allowed group-specific correspondences and differences to be identified and analysed. Developing a thematic structure grounded in empirical material to analyse and compare cases increased the comparability of interpretations (Flick, 2002:189). At the same time, the method remained sensitive and open to the specific content of each individual case and social group with regard to EPM.

4.7.2 Selection of Themes and Subcategories

The researcher arrived at various themes and subcategories through a process of constant comparison and saturation of the interview data (Figure 2).

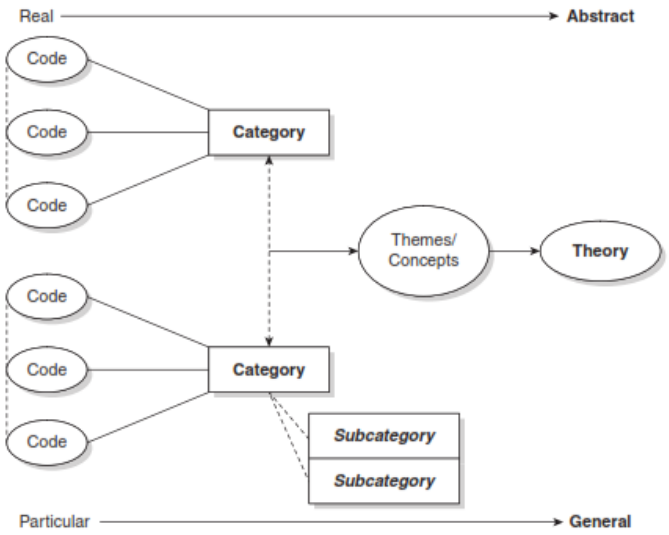


Figure 2: Coding manual for qualitative researchers (adapted from Saldaña, 2009:12)

Themes and patterns were identified, organised and categorised in the interviews by interpreting how people worked under electronic monitoring. These themes and subcategories emerged from the data collected. The theoretical framework explains how the findings of this study relate to the existing literature, how the literature is mobilised to explain the findings and how the theory itself is modified and expanded by this study.

Before starting the coding process, an interview guide was prepared (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003), comprising a number of questions derived from the literature on self-discipline and emotion management. Respondents were carefully interviewed using questions that covered the most important areas of the topic. These were categorised into six themes: control, power and discipline; rationality and corrective action; compliance, conformity and resistance; emotional labour and management of emotions; society, responsibility and accountability; and subjectivity, internalisation and the self. Additional topics emerged from questions raised during the interviews. These additional questions examined issues which had not previously been discussed in the literature, particularly in relation to self-discipline and emotion management.

The data collected from the interviews were then categorised and segmented (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003), ensuring that each interviewee was numbered in order to distinguish each one independently and anonymously. The names of participants were removed from any quotes, and each interview was segmented and categorised under different names.

The information was then coded (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). Initially, the most important quotes expressed by interviewees were highlighted. Specific “descriptive codes" were then extracted from each quote, signifying the most important aspects of

the interviewees' answers. Subsequently, open and In Vivo coding was carried out (Appendix 1, Illustrations 6 and 7) (Charmaz, 2006). In the first cycle, the researcher coded with open codes. In open coding, each quote was carefully read, and words or short phrases were picked out that symbolically assigned a summative, salient, essence-capturing meaning to the data (Holton, 2007). This enabled greater data saturation. In the second cycle, In Vivo coding was used. Again, each quote was carefully read, and either exactly the same units as in open coding or longer passages of text were highlighted. Particular emphasis was placed on extracting information which related to the social context of individuals (Strauss, 1987). These codes later formed the basis for the themes and subcategories of the conceptual framework. Three examples of how the coding was carried out are shown below (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Three examples of coding

"Analytical memos" were used to explain why the quotes for each interviewee were important, and their role in the research (Saldaña, 2009). This was carried out by recording next to each important quote why it was important (Appendix 1, Illustrations 1

and 2). The quotation provided the context for the code, so an extension of the idea was recorded in each memo. At a later stage, other types of memos were built to link ideas (Strauss, 1987), and the relationship of each quote to the research objective of the thesis and what it actually revealed were explained. Analytical memos were written for each interview. According to Saldaña (2009:32), the purpose of analytical memo writing is to document and reflect on the coding process and code choices, the process of inquiry, and emergent patterns, categories and subcategories, themes and concepts in the data, possibly leading to a theory. The researcher read between the lines the subjective thoughts and feelings of respondents concerning the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. Clarke (2005:202) claims that memos are sites for conversation with ourselves about our data. A code was considered not just as a significant word or phrase applied to a datum, but as a prompt or trigger for written reflection on the deeper and complex meanings it evoked (Saldaña, 2009:33). Weston et al. (2001:397) suggest that coding and analytical memo writing are concomitant qualitative data analysis activities because there is "a reciprocal relationship between the development of a coding system and the evolution of understanding a phenomenon". In addition, a "methodological memo" was opened, in which the different stages of analysis were recorded (Saldaña, 2013). This methodological memo process was used throughout the coding and analysis to help explain how results were found, as well as to provide evidence of the reliability of the data (Appendix 1, Illustration 3). Memoing is an important stage in the coding process. Glaser (2004) claims that theory articulation is facilitated through an extensive and systematic process of memoing that parallels the data analysis process. Memo writing is a continual process that leads naturally to

abstraction or ideation – continually capturing the "frontier of the analyst's thinking" as he/she goes through data and codes, sorts and writes (Glaser, 2004). The analyst must interrupt coding to memo ideas as they occur. Memos help the analyst to raise the data to a conceptual level and develop the properties of each category that begin to define them operationally (Glaser, 2004).

A categorisation and conceptualisation process followed, grouping codes and memos into families (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). The original 1,100 codes were merged into 400-500 codes well-grounded in the data, with strong density relations with other codes (Appendix 1, Illustration 5). The codes and memos were revised and merged into groups according to their similarities. Each group represented similar ideas expressed by interviewees. Decisions to merge codes and memos were based on a process of generalisation and discrimination. Approximately two dozen memo families were compared with strong codes using two columns. After comparing memos and codes, a theoretical memo was written to record the researcher's conclusions. This theoretical memo formed the basis on which the conceptual model was constructed (Strauss, 1987). Appendix 2 illustrates how the codes were categorised, merged and matched with memos. In this way, a conceptual framework was derived from the findings of the interviews.

The main themes were then categorised using code and memo families (Appendix 1, Illustrations 8 and 9). After saturating the data, a number of themes emerged from the interview data, which formed a basis for the theoretical framework (Holton, 2007). At this stage, the codes were grouped into themes, matching memos with codes in order to obtain a set of categories and subcategories well grounded in the data. Networks were

then created for the most important categories. As the data were reduced from codes to families, and from families to categories, the number of important ideas was also reduced. The goal was to have only three or four main ideas to structure concepts and theory. However, before establishing which were the most important, several networks constituted the second level of ideas (Appendix 1, Illustration 10).

Once this process had been completed, the researcher had a good understanding of all themes, categories and subcategories, enabling the creation of a theory to explain the relationship between the upper themes, and the drawing of an image or map showing the core variables and the concepts giving sense to them (Saldaña, 2009).

An interpretation system was used to evaluate the findings. The frequency of each phenomenon was checked to establish how often it occurred in the interviews, for example how many times "control" or "discipline" were mentioned by participants (Charmaz, 2006). The researcher also checked for the concurrence of specific behaviours. If a behaviour took place with other behaviours, it was considered more important than if that behaviour happened alone (Charmaz, 2006). Attention was paid to the relationship of each property of the categories with other properties of other categories. For example, "rules of behaviour" was related to an upper level category named "follow rules". Each category was cross-checked to find out the number of quotes it had and the number of important relationships with other codes. Using analytical memos, the researcher was able to keep track of important information and relationships in the analysis, and to take account of the frequency and concurrence of the evidence. The memo system registered the importance of specific behaviours relating to self-discipline and emotion management (Glaser, 1978).

4.7.3 Role of Thematic Coding in Emergence of Themes and Subcategories

The thematic coding approach played a key role in the emergence of themes and subcategories, raising a number of questions regarding the conversational text found in the interviews about what was actually happening in the data, what were the basic problems faced by the participants, and what was the main story within their words and why.

The thematic coding approach enabled the researcher to distinguish within the interview passages themes relating to events over time, and to recognise within the quotations common patterns of talking regarding self-discipline and emotion management, and speech marks which signified how different individuals thought about, expressed and gave meaning to their emotional experiences. In other words, the thematic coding approach allowed the researcher to search inside the interview text for metaphors and word choices which could help understand the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management in an EPM setting, and to discern the language that participants articulated, helping to classify their thoughts, feelings and sensory experiences with regard to this technological system. It helped identify sequences of self-discipline and emotion management within the conversational text and to organise them into families of codes and memos (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Thematic coding analysis also helped isolate excerpts in participants' statements and extract codes relating to the socio-cultural context of electronic monitoring. It assisted in the classification within the text of ideas, views and roles of people working in an EPM environment (Miles and Huberman, 1984) and the determination of themes and categories which provided meaning about the socially constructed world of individuals.

It helped to categorise the subjective experiences of individuals working under EPM and to organise ways of studying memory, thought, socialisation and culture (Smith, 2000). Hence, the thematic coding approach allowed the researcher to read between the lines of the interview data, helping to identify and classify themes and subcategories regarding the self-discipline and emotion management experiences of people working under electronic monitoring.

4.7.4 Validation of coding

Validation of the codes was carried out in a careful and consistent way in order to ensure the quality of the conclusions. Intra-coder reliability was used to authenticate the codes (Bryman, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) and enhance the trustworthiness of the coding. Intra-coder reliability was helpful because the researcher was able to assess the consistency of the coding based on his awareness on the topic. The coder checked the trustworthiness of the coding to ensure that the coding of the data was stable across time (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Steinke, 2000). For this purpose, a Coding Analysis Toolkit (CAT) was used to validate the codes, enabling the researcher to make comparisons and validations in a series of steps. Coding reliability analysis was done by choosing standard comparisons. The researcher then uploaded an ATLAS.ti coded dataset. Available coders were selected and added to the "Chosen Coders". The researcher then selected a method called "Fleiss' Kappa" to draw comparisons, and a process known as adjudication was utilised to validate the coded data. This process involved looking at codeable units one at a time and assessing the validity of specific coding choices. Finally, the researcher viewed and edited the validated dataset (Robson, 2011).

For a variety of reasons, the researcher did not use inter- (rather than intra-)coder reliability to validate the codes. Bazeley (2012) claims that in a very large proportion of circumstances where qualitative data is used, inter-rater reliability is inappropriate and is better suited to quantitative studies (Taylor et al., 2005). In most cases, this method requires one or more people with potentially different perspectives, questions, concerns and experiences to code someone else's data. If inter-coder reliability is used, there is a risk that the data will be interpreted in a different way from the researcher. In interpretive/inductive studies such as this, it is risky for someone else to validate the codes. If intra-coder reliability had been used, the researcher would have had to train the other coders and give them a very structured coding guide, which is antithetical to the interpretive/inductive method used in this study (Bazeley, 2007). Therefore, the researcher himself was in a better position to validate his own codes because he had more knowledge and experience of the topic (Bazeley, 2012).

4.8 Translation of the Data

Data translation was a challenging task. Van Nes et al. (2010:313) maintain that as translation is an interpretive act, meaning may get lost in the translation process. The respondents gave their opinions in their native language, which is Greek, and this was later analysed in English. English is the dominant language in cross-European projects and publications (Kushner, 2003). However, language differences may have consequences, because concepts in one language may be understood differently in another. This is particularly relevant for qualitative research because it works with words: language is central to all phases, ranging from data collection to analysis and representation of the textual data in publications. For instance, language differences may

occur in the first phase of a qualitative study, when interview data need to be translated into the researcher's language (Squires, 2009). Challenges in the interpretation and representation of meaning may be experienced in any communicative action, but are more complicated when cultural contexts differ and interlingual translation is required. Because interpretation and understanding of meanings are central in qualitative research and text is the vehicle through which meaning is ultimately transferred to the reader, language differences generate additional challenges that might hinder the transfer of meaning and result in loss of meaning, thus reducing the validity of the qualitative study (Van Nes et al., 2010:313).

Qualitative research seeks to study meanings in subjective experiences. The relationship between subjective experience and language is a two-way process; language is used to express meaning, and language influences how meaning is constructed (Van Nes et al., 2010:313). Giving words to experiences is a complicated process, as the meaning of experiences is often not completely accessible to subjects and may be difficult to express in language. To capture the richness of experience in language, people commonly use descriptions and metaphors (Polkinghorne, 2005). Metaphors vary from culture to culture and are language-specific (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Language also influences what can be expressed, and some linguists even state that the experience of social reality is unique to one's own language: those who speak different languages perceive the world differently (Chapman, 2006). Qualitative research is considered to be valid when the distance between the meanings experienced by the participants and the meanings interpreted in the findings are as close as possible (Polkinghorne, 2007). Moreover, translation of quotes poses specific challenges, because it may be difficult to

translate concepts for which specific culturally-bound words are used by the participants. Using more words than in the original quote changes the voice of the participant. This is especially problematic, as giving voice to people is seen as an important aim of qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Some translation problems encountered involved mostly the use of Gree-Cypriot metaphors and figures of speech by the call centre agents that were difficult to explain. For example, "na mas pari olous to kolani" (everybody disciplined) or "miga mesa sto gala" (being different) are everyday phrases used in the Greek-Cypriot society. Additional examples include "prostatevome apo tis vomves" (protect myself from the "bombs"), "na min spasoun ta nevra mou" (cannot "break my nerves"), "katapia tin pikra mou" (swallow the bitterness). The unavailability of these expressions in English vocabulary made it difficult to translate them. However, a number of strategies were used to minimise problems in the translation and presentation of the data obtained from the interviews. Primarily, the researcher aimed to provide the best possible representation and understanding of the interpreted experiences of the call centre agents, thus enhancing the validity of the qualitative research (Van Nes et al., 2010:314). The findings were communicated in such a way that the reader understood the meaning expressed in the findings originating from data in the source language. The message communicated in the source language was interpreted by the translator (the researcher) and transferred into the target language in such a way that the receiver of the message understood what was meant.

The researcher aimed to reduce the loss of meaning and thereby to enhance the validity of the cross-language qualitative research, focusing primarily on the thinking and

reflection processes needed in the analysis. He found that talking and reading in English led to thinking in English as well (Jackendoff, 2009). To avoid potential limitations in the analysis, the researcher remained with the original language as much as possible, trying to avoid using fixed, one-word translations, for example, only translating the words "kolani" or "bombs". Instead, he used fluid descriptions of meanings using various English formulations. In doing so, he checked the interpretations by going back to the codes and preliminary findings in the source language. Keeping records of these discussions was useful in making the development of interpretations transparent when in later phases the translations needed to be modified (Van Nes et al., 2010:314).

For translation of the most meaningful language parts in the findings, the researcher operated as a translation moderator in cooperation with a professional translator. This involved explaining to the translator the intended meaning and its context in the source language. This was done in a side-by-side procedure, in which the researcher and the translator discussed possible wordings. Often, different linguistically correct translations were possible, but there were subtle meaning differences which were closely examined in order to decide on the best translation. Rich descriptions using respondent quotes are considered to contribute to trustworthiness (Van Nes et al., 2010:315).

Using quotes is not unproblematic, because participants may feel that they are not fairly represented when they see their spoken words in written form. Translating quotes to another language enlarges this problem, because in the translation the words are literally not their own anymore (Temple, 2008). To minimize this problem, these translations were also undertaken with the support of a professional translator. Special attention was needed when metaphors were translated, either in the quotes or in the findings (Squires,

2009). Whilst the services of a professional translator added to the costs of the study, these costs contributed to improving the validity of the research and the quality of the presentation of the findings.

4.9 Summary

The research design adopted for the study was determined by the main research objective, which was to examine the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. The methodology adopted for the thesis was also designed around three sub-research questions. Particularly, what aspects do call centre agents working under EPM regard as significant when exercising self-discipline and emotion management? What are the views, values, beliefs and ideologies of people working within this electronic monitoring context? What are the complex relationships between different aspects of the surveillance system, the disciplinary environment and emotional labour?

The use of a qualitative methodology allowed the researcher to gain better insights into the emotional experiences of people working under EPM and to examine how different individuals think about, express and give meaning to their emotional experiences. This type of methodology enabled the study of people's experiences with regard to self-discipline and emotion management (Denzin, 1988). In terms of social constructionism, this approach provided a better understanding of the different experiences of people working under such a technology, especially in relation to social and subjective dimensions (Edwards and Potter, 1992).

Chapter 5: Findings

In this chapter, the results of the fieldwork are presented and analysed. In particular, the chapter discusses the results obtained from the interviews in the context of the objective of the research. Analysis of the findings is based on the themes extracted from the data.

5.1 Case study: EPM in Cy-research

This case study examines EPM in one of the most popular call centres in Cyprus. For confidentiality purposes, it is referred to as Cy-research. The case study aims to critically evaluate the intersection between self-discipline and emotion management in an EPM context. By examining subject positions in interpretive repertoires, the study demonstrates how self-discipline and emotion management are constituted at individual and group levels and are specifically connected with the use of EPM technology. The broader social dynamics of EPM are examined through an intepretivist approach, in which workplace social relations are important.

Cy-research was established in February 1995 by a team of professionals, each with a solid market research background and considerable experience in applied marketing. Its objective was to establish an international business, exploiting fully the experience of the management in emerging markets, particularly in the ex-Soviet Union and the Middle East. The company successfully branched out, with offices in Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgizstan, Turkmenistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran. Cy-research is currently organised into four business units – consumer research, trade research, call centre and consultancy – working together to provide the best possible service to local and international clients.

The call centre unit of Cy-research falls into the "quantity" category of call centres (Taylor and Bain, 2001, cited in Wickham and Collins, 2004:6). Cy-research is an environment with simple customer interaction, routinisation, hard targets, strict script adherence, tight call handling times, tight "wrap up" times, a high percentage of time on the phone or ready to take calls, statistics driven, and with a high volume of calls answered. The call centre's mission is to provide world-class service to clients using the company's own fully-automated, state-of-the art call centre equipment and customised software with a high degree of professionalism and customisation. The call centre handles over 10,000 inbound/outbound calls a day, providing clients with superior quality experience and "hands on" service. Call centre agents handling the calls are highly experienced professionals who deliver effective customer solutions by maintaining superiority in all areas of the company's operations, with a variety of applications in both the business-to-business (B2B) and business-to-consumer (B2C) markets. The company pays particular attention to the communication and interpersonal skills of its human resources, which are an integral part of its selection process. Once agents join the company, they become part of its development programme, which is based on continuous training and monitoring of agents' performance. The aim is to keep them up-to-date, informed and ready to deal with every customer communication need.

Since 2004, the call centre has fully employed Altitude computer telephony integration software (Easyphone-uCI CTI). Easyphone connects each customer project with the telephone centre so that all necessary actions are processed automatically, the call centre agent achieves maximum efficiency and the customer enjoys precise, fast and quality results. Call centre agents are responsible for answering inbound calls

(telesales/telephone orders, advertising campaigns, tele-secretarial support, consumer information lines), making outbound calls (telemarketing research, after-sales service), database management (sales force support, quality control) and market research (product/service tests, demographics, assessment of products and services).

Telephone agents' work is generally evaluated using two methods of electronic surveillance: telephone and computer monitoring. Supervisors use ear sets to listen to discussions between telephone agents and their respondents. A computer system is utilised to monitor whether telephone agents are filling in their questionnaires correctly, and the times at which users log in and out of the system for breaks.

The context in which employees operate is significant for understanding the overall atmosphere of the call centre. More specifically, the culture, structure, labour turnover, nature of employment contracts, working hours and other human resource-related issues provide a better understanding of the environment in which employees work. The call centre fosters a professional working culture emphasising high employee productivity. Its structure comprises the top management (the owners), two female supervisors and 30 call centre agents of diverse gender, age and work experience. A formal culture is embedded in the call centre, commonly perceived by all telephone agents and supervisors. All members of staff work together in a disciplined environment, and aim to achieve targets set by top management. All people working in the department are aware of the rules and regulations, especially when talking to irate and aggressive callers.

Top management comprises the owners of the company (family-owned) who have expert knowledge and experience in the field of public and private sector research. Their

main concerns are quality research and confidentiality of findings. They have frequent meetings with the two call centre supervisors to remind them of the importance of managing the performance of the telephone agents effectively. Particular emphasis is placed on ensuring that supervisors consistently monitor the quality of telephone calls as well as log-in/out times. The offices of the top management are situated on the fifth floor of the building and cannot be seen by members of the call centre, which is situated on the second floor. All call centre staff are located in one big room where everybody is visible. The supervisors' desks are isolated in a corner of the room, allowing them to observe and listen to telephone agents' calls. This architectural setting makes it possible to provide help, and to detect and correct mistakes. Telephone agents are located within four metres of the supervisors' desks. They sit next to each other in a 15 x 15 metre square seating arrangement. Call centre agents comprise a mixture of males and females, mostly between the ages of 19 and 35. Their work time is flexible, ranging from four to eight hours a day and sometimes weekends.

The two female supervisors have worked for the company for two and six years respectively. Before being promoted to supervisor, they also worked as telephone agents. The supervisors use telephone headsets to listen to the calls of each telephone agent, as well as sophisticated computer software to monitor and record the duration and speed of calls. This software provides productivity statistics, both to telephone agents and to top management, which may subsequently be used to reward or discipline employees. If mistakes are detected, they inform telephone agents either through their ear sets or by direct verbal/non-verbal communication (eye contact). Each telephone agent uses an ear set to carry out telephone research. A computer system is used to

transcribe all answers given to them by the callers. When a call has ended, the computer automatically dials another caller. The telephone agent has three minutes to rest before taking another call. Each call takes approximately fifteen minutes. Agents must obtain permission from a supervisor to take a break. Rest and break times are monitored through a log-in/log-out system. The Altitude computer software keeps a record of how much “real” time each agent works for productivity and payroll purposes.

There is a high turnover of telephone agents in the call centre. According to the supervisors, one in three agents leave voluntarily after the first six months, one in three leave voluntarily after two years, and one in three are laid off because they cannot meet the demands of the company. Supervisors have employment contracts which state agreed salary, working hours, benefits and duties. However, owing to the high turnover rate, telephone agents do not have employment contracts. They have an agreement with management to be paid a fixed rate according to the number of hours they spend answering telephone calls. Time spent logged out of the computer system is deducted from their monthly salary; therefore, they are paid according to the “real” time they have spent carrying out telephone research.

5.2 Findings of the Study

It is important to stress that the themes found in the study, emerged from the findings of the interviews carried out in Cyresearch. The study revealed six main themes regarding the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management: Control, power and discipline; rationality and corrective action; compliance, conformity and resistance; emotional labour and management of emotions; society, responsibility and accountability; and subjectivity, internalisation and the self. These main themes and

their respective categories/dimensions emerged from interviewee quotes (see Appendix 3 for evidence in the form of qualitative networks and matrices). The accounts of call centre agents in Cy-research illustrate the views, values, beliefs and ideologies of people working within this electronic monitoring context.

5.3 Theme 1: Control, Power and Discipline

The evidence of this research shows that control, power and discipline play a role in the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management (Appendix 3, Theme 1).

5.3.1 Subcategory 1: Control and Power

5.3.1.1 EPM and Power

Supervisors in the call centre use electronic monitoring to gain power. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 1, call centre agents believe that EPM increases supervisors' ability to exercise control over them. They must always be careful not to say or do anything wrong. The words of one call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I believe that holding the ear set and listening to our calls gives them more power over us. They walk around the office with the ear set, touching our shoulders while we are speaking to callers. They are silently telling us to be careful. They can tell us off any moment of time* (6:104).[1]

Supervisors shout in front of others when they detect mistakes through their ear sets. Agents believe that they purposely use the system to intimidate people so as to make

1 The first number (6) indicates the number of the interviewee who made the specific comment. The second number (62) indicates the order in which the quote was created for the particular interviewee.

them work harder. Employees feel surprised, upset and worried when this happens because they do not want the same thing to happen to them. They feel embarrassed that their supervisors might tell them off. They feel that being reprimanded in front of others is unacceptable and a sign of failure. Hence, in order to avoid embarrassment they discipline themselves to be cautious and alert so as not to make mistakes. A call centre agent said:

> *I believe that our supervisors use these systems to gain more power over us. Once, when one of the supervisors got upset with the performance of a telephone agent, she shouted at him in front of others as if she owned the company* (7:44).

Telephone agents feel ashamed when reprimanded in front of others as a result of the EPM system. It makes agents behave according to the norms and to behave like others in order to avoid being picked on or bullied. EPM embeds in the minds of agents the significance of disciplining the way they feel and behave. A call centre agent commented:

> *Of course they do it to control us better. Even though my supervisor is reprimanding somebody else, I feel intimidated and worried that she might tell me off as well. I try not to make the same mistake as my colleague. I would feel ashamed if she reprimanded me in front of everybody. When my supervisors reprimand someone in front others, I am reminded again that we are being monitored. So I try to be more careful in my job. I believe that our supervisors do it on purpose* (9:48).

5.3.1.2 Power over Behaviour and Emotions

EPM has the power to control the behaviours and emotions of call centre agents (Appendix 3, Matrix 1). It disciplines employees to carry out their jobs in the most precise way without making any mistakes. It aims to perfect the tasks carried out by agents so as to increase their productivity. Nonetheless, call centre agents feel worried while working under EPM because they are afraid of getting punished. They work harder to avoid negative circumstances because the system can easily detect their mistakes. They feel insecure because they do not know when they are being monitored. EPM builds fear and uncertainty among the agents in the call centre. Consequently, employees suppress the way they feel to avoid being sanctioned. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I felt that I couldn't do something that was not allowed because someone could listen to me at any moment of the day. So I always tried to do everything correctly, precisely as it was expected* (11:121).

EPM influences the way in which agents in the call centre discipline and manage their emotions. They must discipline themselves because the rules of the system dictate what they are and are not allowed to do. They must make sure that they carry out their job correctly in order to avoid retribution. They must fulfill expectations, otherwise they will suffer the consequences. One call centre agent said:

> *The monitoring systems used in the call centre play a role in how we behave. I feel that I can't do something that is not allowed because someone is listening to me at any moment of the day. So*

> *I always try to do everything correctly, precisely as it is expected* (5:50).

EPM drives call centre agents to control their internal emotions. Supervisors use the system as a tool of power to make employees work better. In order to avoid being fired, employees strive to present a good image to colleagues and callers by remaining calm. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I would feel ashamed if my supervisors or customers told me something bad. I get upset, but when speaking on the telephone I have to maintain my standard* (10:37).

5.3.2 Subcategory 2: Following Rules

5.3.2.1 Rules of Behaviour

Call centre agents are conditioned by EPM to conform to specific rules concerning how they should behave. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 2, call centre agents express themselves as the EPM system requires. They are taught from the beginning to follow the rules of expression. The system forces them to behave politely and to obey the rules of emotional labour. As time passes, they embed in their minds the correct way of disciplining and managing their emotions. A call centre agent commented:

> *We have to follow rules in how we talk to callers. If we break those rules, we will be told off. So I keep negative emotions within me. I hide them inside of me* (16:70).

The electronic system forces call centre agents are severely constrained in making choices in the use of the system. They control their reactions towards rude callers by not

conveying emotions that are considered inappropriate by callers, colleagues and supervisors. One call centre agent said:

> *We are not allowed to do whatever we want here. I keep concentrated in my work and try to avoid making mistakes. I obey the rules by keeping inside of me any negative emotions. I control myself to work like the others in order to avoid the risk of getting caught. I accept the working situation. I don't express inappropriate emotions* (15:2).

The EPM system influences agents to present self-images that are appropriate to the call centre environment. This behaviour feels right to them because they have become part of the cultural system of the call centre and have internalised the rules of the system. Self-images are presented spontaneously because they have learned to behave according to the rules of EPM. They do not question them. They put on a face which is appropriate to the situation. The words of one agent are characteristic:

> *I manage my behaviour in order to display the appropriate image towards callers, supervisors and colleagues. I do it because it feels right. Knowing that proper behaviour is part of the job, I have learned to put on the face that is appropriate for specific situations* (15:155).

5.3.2.2 Punishment

The power of the EPM system to detect mistakes and to punish those making the mistakes plays a key role in how call centre agents exercise self-discipline and emotion

management (Appendix 3, Matrix 2). Knowing that the system can detect their faults, they worry about getting punished. Although their feelings about the system were initially more intense, they said that they are still careful. They have to make sure that they carry out their tasks correctly in order to avoid punishment. They have to follow the instructions of the electronic monitoring system, otherwise they will suffer the consequences. A call centre agent stated:

> *I always try to do everything correctly, precisely as it is expected. Sometimes, I am worried that if I say something wrong they will punish me. (5:51)*

EPM forces call centre agents to be cautious in their work. The system defines the ways in which they will feel when they make mistakes and influences them strive to work perfectly. Employees are conditioned by EPM to discipline themselves. They experience various emotions such as worry, sadness, uneasiness and nervousness. They feel that it is a strict system which forces them to oppress themselves. It makes them hide their emotions, keeping their true emotions within themselves. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I am worried that if I don't close the line my supervisors will "catch" me and they will reprimand me. That he doesn't care if I get punished. Personally it bothers me when they tell me off but I swallow the bitterness* (9:41).

5.3.3 Subcategory 3: Control and Discipline

5.3.3.1 EPM and Discipline

The EPM systems installed in the call centre play a significant role in the discipline and control of agents. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 3, supervisors use EPM to gain more control over call centre agents. Supervisors intentionally do not tell employees exactly when they are being monitored. This creates a feeling of uncertainty in their minds so they are forced to work well all the time. The system makes them more disciplined as they always try to avoid making mistakes. One call centre agent commented:

> *On the day of the research, they don't tell us exactly which part of the day they are listening to us. So I try to work well all the time because they might be listening to me. I am more disciplined when I know that they are listening to me* (12:31).

EPM forces call centre agents to be more disciplined in their emotional reactions. They must control their expressions. Agents are worried that mistakes spotted by the system will get them into trouble. They must control themselves so that others will not misunderstand them. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I feel that electronic monitoring makes me more disciplined. I have to control the way I express myself both verbally and non-verbally to customers. I am worried that if I lose my temper I will get myself in trouble. So, I control myself in a way that others will not misunderstand me* (15:123).

Call centre agents remove any thoughts from their minds and concentrate on the way they speak to callers. They concentrate so as to avoid making any mistakes. They discipline themselves so as to behave properly towards callers. They display those emotions that colleagues, supervisors and callers expect to see and hear. A call centre agent stated:

> *I concentrate on how I speak to the caller and try to avoid mistakes that I made before. I sometimes smile when talking to a caller even if he/she cannot see me. I think that it is a matter of discipline, a discipline of the nerves* (15:42).

EPM forces call centre agents to appraise each situation and to behave accordingly. They tend to change their emotions in order to express those feelings which are considered appropriate by others. They manage their expressions by disciplining their negative feelings. They view this process as a form of defense in order to protect themselves from verbal abuse. They bury their feelings and force themselves to avoid answering back. One call centre agent commented:

> *You could say that it is a form of defence against rude callers. I try to protect myself from the "bombs" of callers. I cannot answer back because my supervisor will tell me off. So I bury my true feelings inside of me* (17:45).

5.3.3.2 Group Discipline

EPM has the power to exercise discipline over a group of call centre agents at the same time (Appendix 3, Matrix 3). Agents are cautious and alert because they are worried that

they might be told off in front of others. They feel that it is embarrassing to become a spectacle in front of everybody in the call centre. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I believe that holding the ear set and listening to our calls gives them more power over us. ... They can tell us off any moment of time. The fact that they are listening makes me more alert. (6:620)*

5.3.3.3 Intimidation

The electronic monitoring system has the power to intimidate call centre agents (Appendix 3, Matrix 3). This form of intimidation is linked to discipline. Agents are affected by what is happening to others around them. They feel afraid and worried that the same might happen to them, so they are careful not to make the same mistakes. The rules in the call centre demand that their performance is always high. Anything below that is a weakness. The call centre agents feel anxious because their jobs are insecure and they do not know exactly when they are being monitored. A call centre agent said:

> *The truth is that they sometimes are on the lookout for agents who are not doing their job correctly. They are waiting to catch people, especially if they are in a bad mood. Anyway, I don't think that people are scared of the supervisor as such. They are mostly intimidated by the system itself. It is the monitoring system that they are worried about. Sometimes you don't know who is behind the telephone, camera or computer. The only thing you are sure of is that you are being monitored. For example, you might have a camera switched off, but because you don't*

> *know it, you will still feel frightened that you are being monitored. Just because the device is there makes you feel afraid* (5:66).

Nevertheless, the interpretations of a small number of telephone agents suggest that their supervisors do not purposely use the electronic system to exercise power and discipline over them. They believe that the system helps them improve in their work. A call centre agent stated:

> *They only do it to correct us. They are also trying to do their jobs. They want us to carry out our jobs in a better way. You are worried a little bit but it depends on what kind of a person you are. Personally speaking, I don't think my supervisors use such systems to take control over me. If they did this, you wouldn't hear anything but reprimands in the call centre. Even supervisors have their bad days* (5:115).

5.4 Theme 2: Rationality and Corrective Action

The evidence of this study shows that rationality and corrective action play a significant role in the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management (Appendix 3, Theme 2).

5.4.1 Subcategory 1: Correction and Self-Improvement

5.4.1.1 Maintain Standards

As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 4, call centre agents working under EPM are concerned with not making mistakes. They have to discipline themselves because the

rules of the system dictate at what level they should be working. They must maintain the standards enforced by the system. A call centre agent stated:

> *I believe electronic monitoring makes you carry out your work in the correct way because you don't know when they are listening to you* (5:50).

They believe that the insults of callers force them to work according to the standards of the call centre. They control feelings of anger in order to follow the principles of the system. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I get upset, but when speaking on the telephone I have to maintain my standard. ... I wish I could talk to the caller in the same way, but I know that if I do it I will be fired, so I have to remain calm* (9:62).

5.4.1.2 Work Correctly

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research tend to forget that the electronic system is monitoring them (Appendix 3, Matrix 4). However, specific events take place which influence them to exercise self-discipline and emotion management. In particular, companies who are paying for research visit the company to monitor employees. This leads call centre agents to feel tense. They aim to carry out their jobs as well as possible in order to avoid complaints. Clients are always checking to see whether employees are polite and professional. This leads them to control themselves. Employees may control their anger and patience so as to come across in a nice way. A call centre agent said:

> *I always want to do my job as best as possible so as to avoid receiving complaints from them. After all, they are the ones who are bringing money to the business. When the representatives of these companies listen to our calls, they check to see how we talk with our callers* (6:85).

The computer monitoring system makes agents work harder to improve their performance. It makes them want to reduce their mistakes and work in the best possible way. At the same time, they must control their emotions because they do not want to break the rules. A call centre agent remarked:

> *Talking about myself, I don't like my supervisors telling me that I am making mistakes. I hate it when they tell me that I am doing something wrong. In my life, I always want to be the best in what I do. I am a perfectionist. I don't like it when people tell me off. I hate making mistakes* (10:52).

5.4.1.3 Worried about Making Mistakes

Agents are worried about making mistakes, especially at the beginning of their employment in the call centre (Appendix 3, Matrix 4). If their mistakes are detected by the supervisors, they feel uncomfortable and worried that they might get punished. Two call centre agents said:

> *Supervisors constantly listened to our calls. This made me feel under pressure. On the one hand, this helped me become better in my job, but on the other hand, it sometimes negatively*

> *influenced my performance. For example, I often made mistakes because I knew someone was listening to my conversations. It made me uncomfortable. I was worried that the mistake was going to be heard and later punished. At the start, I controlled my feelings, mostly because I was tense* (1:7).
>
> *I was trembling, knowing I was being monitored, because it was my first time in this job. I was worried that I might make a mistake. That is why they are listening to us anyway. To check if we make mistakes* (3:39).

Call centre agents in Cy-research would prefer not to work under electronic monitoring because it makes them worried and nervous. It also makes them confused, as they have to hide many of their feelings inside themselves. The constant worry about making mistakes makes them stressed and uncomfortable. A call centre agent commented:

> *If there was no monitoring I would probably be more relaxed in my job and would not have to worry about making mistakes. I would feel more relaxed if I didn't have to constantly worry about logging in and out* (2:33).

Call centre agents know when supervisors are monitoring but they do not know to whom they are listening. This makes them worried because they do not want to make any mistakes, so they are careful in how they react emotionally. They must discipline themselves because the rules of the electronic monitoring system dictate how they should be working. The system does not allow them to express any kind of emotion.

They make sure that they carry out their jobs as well as possible. One call centre agent said:

> *We see them listening to us but we don't know exactly who they are listening to. Because we don't know who they are listening to it makes me more worried of not making mistakes. I am more careful of what I will say and do* (4:39).

EPM forces agents working in Cy-research to follow specific rules. It disciplines them to carry out their jobs in the most precise way without making any mistakes. It aims to perfect their jobs so as to increase their productivity. They feel worried while working under EPM because they are afraid of getting punished. Not knowing when they are monitored makes them more insecure about their future. They suppress the way they feel to avoid being sanctioned. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I believe electronic monitoring makes you carry out your work in the correct way because you don't know when they are listening to you. We cannot tell if the supervisor is listening to us. They know that at any moment in time, we are thirty people here; a supervisor can jump on the line and listen to any one of us* (11:37).

5.4.1.4 Cautious and Alert

Electronic monitoring systems installed in Cy-research influence call centre agents to be cautious and alert (Appendix 3, Matrix 4). They control their emotional reactions in order to be heard in the proper way. They exert pressure on themselves to meet the

expectations of the call centre environment. They are always watchful because they are aware that they are being monitored. They force themselves to manage their emotions because they do not know exactly when they are being monitored. A call centre agent said:

> *The fact that they are listening to us through the telephone makes me cautious of what and how I have to say something. They can tell us off at any moment in time. People have been fired because of this. We are not robots. Because of so much pressure, we want to unwind for a while* (9:33).

5.4.1.5 Careful with Self

Call centre agents feel afraid and worried while working under EPM (Appendix 3, Matrix 4). They are careful not to repeat the same mistakes. They feel ashamed when reprimanded in front of others. They do not want to let people down or be seen as weak. The norms in the call centre demand that their performance is always high. Even though they tend to forget about monitoring, the reprimands remind them of it again. This process makes them more careful about their conduct. There is a constant preoccupation with correcting themselves. When they see that others are being reprimanded, they try to be even more careful so that they will not be reprimanded as well. A call centre agent commented:

> *When a reprimand was made to me by my supervisors, I always tried to correct myself. When I heard somebody else close to me being reprimanded, I told myself that I should also be careful not*

> *to make the same mistake, otherwise I will get in trouble too. I felt nervous* (2:71).

Call centre agents in Cy-research are under pressure because they are cautious about making mistakes. Clients are always checking to see whether they are polite and professional, which leads them to manage their behaviours. Call centre agents are emotionally affected by the feedback received from their supervisors and clients. The words of a call centre agent exemplify this:

> *Important people who hold high level jobs are checking to see whether I am polite and professional towards callers. If this doesn't happen, their company runs the risk of building a bad image. So I have to always be careful of what I say and how I respond to callers. I have to control myself not to say something silly. I especially control my anger and impatience because sometimes callers are annoying. There are people who are uneducated and who are not able to communicate properly* (6:114).

5.4.2 Subcategory 2: Awareness

5.4.2.1 Knowing about EPM

As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 5, call centre agents in Cy-research consider awareness of EPM to be important in the management of their emotions. Knowing that they are being monitored, they discipline themselves to follow the norms of the working

environment. They feel that their own character drives their feelings and behaviours. A call centre agent commented:

> *Knowing that the supervisors are listening to me, I feel that I exercise more pressure on myself. But generally speaking, I believe that it is mainly because of my character that I don't argue back. Many times I get upset with callers but I keep my anger inside of me* (1:23).

Agents are cautious in their work because they are aware that they are being monitored. Because they do not know who is being monitored or when, they force themselves to manage their emotions. A call centre agent stated:

> *I prefer knowing that they are using monitoring but not exactly when. We see them listening to us but we don't know exactly who they are listening to. Because we don't know who they are listening to it makes me more worried of not making mistakes. I am more careful of what I will say and do* (4:63).

The answers of the call centre agents show that it is mainly the rudeness of callers that causes them to react emotionally. Callers swear at them and call them names, which makes them feel upset. They believe that the insults of callers force them to work according to standards. Knowing that their supervisors can listen to their calls, they control feelings of anger in order not to be heard negatively by their supervisors. A call centre agent said:

> *Whatever a caller says to me, even if he swears at me, my mother or father, I tell him thank you and goodbye. Later on, I describe the circumstance to my colleagues sitting next to me. ... I have to remain calm. Knowing that my supervisor hears me, I control myself not to say something stupid. I mostly control my anger* (9:65).

5.4.2.2 Thinking about EPM

Some call centre agents working in Cy-research said that "thinking" can play a role in how they discipline and manage their emotions under EPM (Appendix 3, Matrix 5). They think about the presence of EPM and what consequences it may bring to them. They contemplate their work. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I keep composed in my work and try not to be influenced by anything else around me. I discipline my reactions so that the caller and my supervisor do not realise that I don't like something or that I am upset* (15:116).

They tend to concentrate and adjust their emotions so as to express them properly. They hold onto themselves in order to prevent themselves from saying something irrational. The proper norms of behaviour in the call centre have been internalized. They control themselves mentally in order not to give a bad impression to others. They contemplate their reactions, forcing themselves to calm down. They discipline their thoughts in a way which will help them display those emotions that others expect to see. A call centre agent said:

> *If while speaking to a caller I realise that he is getting upset with me, I control myself not to answer back. I start to think "calm down", "don't do or say something bad", "be careful"* (16:66).

5.4.2.3 Keep Concentrated

Call centre agents also mentioned that concentration may significantly influence how they exercise self-discipline and emotion management (Appendix 3, Matrix 5). Their answers indicate that when working under EPM they keep focused on their work so as to avoid mistakes. They concentrate on how they express themselves verbally and non-verbally. This concentration leads them to control their emotional reactions and discipline themselves to avoid been seen or heard in the wrong way. A call centre agent stated:

> *I try to remove any other thought from my mind. I concentrate on how I speak to the caller and try to avoid mistakes that I made before. I sometimes smile when talking to a caller, even if he/she cannot see me. I think that it is a matter of discipline, a discipline of the nerves* (15:40).

They work in a composed manner by keeping mistakes to themselves. They concentrate so as to react carefully. A call centre agent commented:

> *I try to smile and talk in a cheerful voice. It is very tiring sometimes because I need to discipline myself for a long time, especially if I am having a bad day. I have to concentrate on how I will react and be careful with what I have to say* (17:34).

5.4.2.4 Back of my Mind

Some call centre agents in Cy-research also stated that they have EPM at the backs of their minds (Appendix 3, Matrix 5). Over time, the presence of EPM tends to be forgotten. However, when another agent is told off in front of them or when clients visit the call centre, they are again reminded about it. Whilst they may not pay attention to it all the time, it nevertheless remains at the backs of their minds. They subconsciously think about it. A call centre agent said:

> *The system is embedded in my mind that I am being monitored, so I try to be careful. I have adapted to this way of working and I don't pay attention to it. Nevertheless, I have it at the back of my mind.* (5:44).

5.4.2.5 Memory

Memory may affect the way in which call centre agents in Cy-research experience self-discipline and emotion management under EPM (Appendix 3, Matrix 5). Reprimands remind them of the power of EPM, making them more alert and cautious. They tend to keep the rules of the system in their minds and later on retrieve these according to the situation. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I suppose that the external rules of the call centre and the monitoring system have been saved in my mind, so I act in a way that is in accordance with those rules without the need to think about them all the time.* (17:47).

Call centre agents recall unpleasant memories from the past and modify their behaviour to resemble the characteristics of other agents in the call centre. They consequently manage their expressions by disciplining their negative feelings. A call centre agent commented:

> *I appraise each call differently and change my emotions to suit that situation. I would say that I remember unpleasant memories from previous callers and try to modify my behaviour to avoid similar circumstances. I manage the way I express myself by disciplining those feelings that seem inappropriate* (17:44).

5.4.3 Subcategory 3: Learning

5.4.3.1 At the Beginning

Call centre agents in Cy-research stated that the EPM system influences them to obey its rules. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 6, their emotional experiences in the call centre at the beginning of their employment tend to be different from those at a later stage. They claim that feelings at the beginning were more intense because they were new to the job. They were not acquainted with the system of working. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *When I first came to the company, my supervisor told me that she would listen to me through her ear set. When I made a mistake, she interfered on the line and told me what I did wrong. Afterwards, she explained to me how to correct my mistake. I felt bad when she did this, but she did it in order for me to improve.*

> *However, I still felt bad because it was my first day at work. I was tense* (9:19).

The system defines the ways in which call centre agents prepare in advance for mistakes. Individuals learn from the beginning to anticipate problems before they actually happen. In this way the possibility of mistakes is significantly reduced. A call centre agent stated:

> *I know from before that the system can spot my mistakes, so I am careful not to do or say anything wrong. For example, when talking with customers I control myself not to be heard wrongly. I hide emotions that are considered impolite* (16:12).

5.4.3.2 Now More Ready

The emotions of call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research tend to change over time (Appendix 3, Matrix 6). After some time, agents get used to the electronic monitoring system. They gain more experience of the demands of the system, making it part of their everyday job. Agents learn not to make the same mistakes. They learn to follow the norms of the system and get used to dealing with difficult situations. EPM trains them to work more effectively. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I have got used to the system. I feel that through the monitoring system I have improved* (5:78).

However, specific events at work cause them to experience intense emotions again. The reprimands of their supervisors monitoring them and external clients visiting the company trigger their self-discipline and emotion management. They exercise pressure

on themselves to be polite and give a positive impression. This makes them manage their negative emotions in order not to exhibit a bad image and to avoid punishment. A call centre agent commented:

> *Now I feel more used to the system, it doesn't influence me that much. At present, I believe that my supervisors are not monitoring my calls all the time. Of course it also depends on the type of research. If a research is difficult, I believe they are monitoring me very intensively. If a research is simple, I believe they are not listening as much. At the beginning, I used to look at and listen to my colleagues and tried to work like them. At present, I am more myself* (1:24).

Call centre agents are conditioned by EPM to carry out their jobs more effectively. They embed the rules of the system in their minds. They learn to behave like others working around them, becoming part of the working environment. Call centre agents learn to correct and improve on their mistakes. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *After a few months of working, I have learned to avoid making mistakes and to correct myself without the help of the supervisor. I tell myself "be careful, don't make mistakes". As soon as I sit on my chair, I prepare myself psychologically. Nobody has to say something to me. I know from the beginning that mistakes should be avoided so I avoid gaffes* (15:17).

5.5 Theme 3: Compliance, Conformity and Resistance

The evidence of this study shows that the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management can be understood from a compliance, conformity and resistance point of view (Appendix 3, Theme 3).

5.5.1 Subcategory 1: Compliance and Conformity

5.5.1.1 Comply with EPM

Most of the participants in this research said that they are forced to submit to the rules of EPM. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 7, callers are often rude to call centre agents. Knowing that the system is monitoring their conversations, they discipline their reactions to comply with the norms of the working environment. They want to swear back to callers but something does not let them. They are afraid of losing their jobs. The economic crisis also plays a role in this insecurity. They do not want to express their true selves so that others will not perceive them in a negative way. A call centre agent commented:

> *I mostly hide my anger. When callers are rude towards me I want to swear back at them but I control myself not to. This is because I am afraid of losing my job. If my supervisors hear me I will be in big trouble* (1:30).

EPM forces call centre agents in Cy-research to conform to the guidelines of EPM by always being polite. They hide their authentic emotions by not answering back to rude callers. Through compliance, they discipline themselves not to show feelings of anger and irritation. A call centre agent said:

> *Most of the time callers are rude to me but I don't answer back. I get irritated but control myself. I hide the anger inside me* (3:1).

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research manage their emotions through conformity. They restrain their anger by calming themselves down, and they manage laughter because they do not want to give a negative impression. They are afraid of losing their jobs so they act in accordance with the electronic system. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I think electronic monitoring plays a role. I want to reply in an aggressive way to callers, but I don't because I know my supervisor is listening to me. The most intensive emotion that I feel is anger. There is nothing else, just anger. I control my anger because I have learned to do it. You are scared that you might lose your job. I thought what if somebody hears what I say?* (5:84)

Conformity plays a role in the way call centre agents react emotionally under EPM. Most agents want to swear back and shout to rude callers, but something prevents them from reacting in such a way. One call centre agent commented:

> *Electronic monitoring made things even worse. I didn't want to start shouting at them. I knew my supervisor was listening to me, so I had to control my anger. I wanted to swear back at them but I held myself back. I was afraid of losing my job. If my supervisors heard me I would be in trouble* (7:18).

Uncertainty in the call centre forces agents to meet the terms of the electronic system. EPM makes them conform to the instructions of the system by keeping them concentrated on their work. They discipline themselves by controlling the way in which they behave. They do not want to disturb other people, so they control the way they feel. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I feel that there is no reason for me to shout back. If he doesn't want to talk to me, I say thank you for your time and move to the next caller. I cannot push people to talk to me. It's his problem if he swears at me. The fact that you don't see the caller also plays a role* (8:20).

Agents believe that the insults of callers force them to conform to the standards of the call centre. They are concerned with presenting themselves in a good way so as not to be punished. They force themselves to remain composed because the system can detect their mistakes. They constrain their emotions so as to display an appropriate image to callers, colleagues and supervisors. Knowing that the EPM system can alert supervisors to their mistakes, they force themselves to manage their verbal and non-verbal communication. This management of communication leads to the management of specific emotions such as anger and fear. A call centre agent stated:

> *Our supervisor listens to our telephone calls. I force myself to remain calm in order not to be heard by my supervisor in a negative way. I want to shout and sometimes even swear at callers but I am afraid of losing my job, so, I have to constrain the way I express myself* (9:2).

Call centre agents worry that if they resist the system, they might lose their jobs. As a result, they discipline themselves to obey the rules of EPM. They choose not to express themselves by keeping negative feelings inside. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I feel that I have to comply with the rules of the system. I don't want to lose my job. ... I accept the working situation. I don't express inappropriate emotions* (15:147).

Agents control themselves so as not to externalise unwanted emotions or present themselves negatively to others in their working environment. However, this suppression of emotion leads them to experience more intense feelings of irritation. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I feel that most of the time I comply with electronic monitoring. I try to keep calm when talking with callers. I keep quiet so as not to say something which will be misinterpreted. I don't want others to perceive me in the wrong way. I hold onto myself so as not to say anything foolish. When callers swear at me, I swear back to them, but inside of me. This makes me feel more upset because I cannot release the anger from within me* (16:119).

Through compliance and conformity, they manage their expressions by disciplining their negative feelings. For them, it is a matter of discipline and separating what is right and wrong in the call centre context. A call centre agent commented:

> *You could say that it is a form of defence against rude callers. ... I try to exhibit those behaviours which are proper without*

putting my job at risk. It is all a matter of discipline, knowing when to separate right from wrong. (17:45)

5.5.1.2 Accept the Working Situation

Participants in this research said that acceptance of the working situation can play a role in conforming to the norms of the electronic system (Appendix 3, Matrix 7). They accept the rules of the EPM system by complying with the norms of the environment. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

I accept the working situation. I don't express inappropriate emotions (15:9).

5.5.1.4 Remain Calm

In complying with the rules of the EPM environment, call centre agents restrain their anger by calming themselves down (Appendix 3, Matrix 7). When the rudeness of callers causes feelings of anger and irritation, they keep their anger within them and manage their responses. They seek to present themselves in a relaxed and stress-free manner. A call centre agent mentioned:

I mostly manage myself when speaking to irate callers. I don't want to answer back, so I restrain my anger. I try to calm myself down while I am speaking to the person (5:56).

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research are psychologically tired because they have to use considerable mental resources to deal with others. It is difficult for them to listen to and cope mentally with verbal abuse. They control their thoughts and

feelings by calming themselves down. They try to eliminate any thoughts from their minds by keeping negative emotions inside themselves. A call centre agent said:

> *I think it is a constant battle with my inner self. I try not to be influenced by bad thoughts. I control my negative thoughts and feelings and try as much as possible not to be influenced. It is like meditating. I calm myself down and try to eliminate any negative thought and feeling from inside of me. I try to exhibit those behaviours which are proper without putting my job at risk* (17:37).

5.5.1.5 Bury my True Feelings

Call centre agents comply with the rules of the electronic system by burying their genuine feelings (Appendix 3, Matrix 7). They do this by managing their emotions and pretending that everything is normal. A call centre agent commented:

> *I regulate my emotions in order to present myself in a better way. It is impossible to be happy and energetic every day. We all have our bad days. However, I cannot "break my nerves" on the caller. I bury my anger and pretend that everything is OK* (17:30).

Call centre agents commented that when conforming to EPM, they tend to "swallow their bitterness" (Appendix 3, Matrix 7). This shows that the system forces agents to oppress themselves. It makes them conceal undesirable emotions inside themselves.

This causes them to keep themselves under control. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *Personally it bothers me when they tell me off but I swallow the bitterness. I feel the log-on and log-off system is very strict. (9:42).*

5.5.2 Subcategory 2: Resistance

5.5.2.1 Resisting EPM

Some participants said that they resist EPM in one way or another. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 8, call centre agents are unable to manage and control their negative feelings over a considerable length of time. This leads them to go against the electronic monitoring system. A call centre agent said:

> *Once, when one of the supervisors got upset with the performance of a telephone agent, she shouted at him in front of others as if she owned the company. The telephone agent got so upset that he deliberately threw his coffee on the floor and went outside for a break. The break is 15 minutes. He came back after 30 minutes* (1:104).

5.5.2.2 Laugh When it Happens

Call centre agents said that they resisted by laughing during or after a conversation with a rude caller (Appendix 3, Matrix 8). They claimed that sometimes during or after closing a call, they make jokes and fun of the caller with other agents. This shows that agents have the need to externalise negative emotions. It demonstrates that call centre

agents working under EPM may not always have the strength to discipline themselves over a long period of time. They may need to release the pressure within themselves. One call centre agent said:

> *If someone gets me upset, I take a break and have a cup of coffee. It is more difficult, however, to control laughter. Most of the time, I start laughing in front of my colleagues and while I am speaking to callers. It is a feeling that I cannot easily manage* (5:60).

5.5.2.3 Leave the Line Open

Agents silence themselves but find it difficult to do this all the time (Appendix 3, Matrix 8). They cannot control their feelings and constantly put a mask over their face. They resist the pressure of the system by leaving the line open or entering the wrong information on a questionnaire. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I don't express myself emotionally in any way. However, I cannot do this all the time. It is impossible for me to put a mask on my face forever. Sometimes I cannot control my feelings. I take revenge for the caller's rudeness. For example, I leave the line open after the customer has hung up and enter the wrong information in the questionnaire* (17:5).

5.5.2.4 Leave the Company

Call centre agents in Cy-research also resist the EPM system by leaving the company (Appendix 3, Matrix 8). They choose to stop working in the call centre because they

cannot put up with the demands of the system. This shows that some individuals do not have the mental capacity to discipline themselves for prolonged periods of time. They cannot manage their emotions to that extent. They are unable to act continuously and display inauthentic emotions. They seek to express their inner pressure by terminating their employment in the organisation. A call centre agent commented:

> *I have got used to the system. ... However, I believe that other people working with me cannot work properly. Some of them left the company for this reason. It made them feel uncomfortable. They felt that it was a breach of privacy* (5:126).

5.6 Theme 4: Emotional Labour and Management of Emotions

The evidence of this research shows that the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management can be understood from an emotional labour perspective (Appendix 3, Theme 4).

5.6.1 Subcategory 1: Emotional Labour

5.6.1.1 Display Appropriate Self-Image

Participants in this research said that they are preoccupied with displaying appropriate self-images to others. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 9, call centre agents usually manage their feelings of anger so as not to sound or appear rude towards others. A call centre agent said:

> *Knowing that somebody is listening to me, I "filter my thoughts" before saying something in order to avoid making mistakes. I try to speak in the most polite way to the caller so as to be heard as*

> *more professional. I don't want to give the impression that I am rude towards the caller* (8:40).

The rudeness of callers causes call centre agents in Cy-research to manage their emotional expressions. They are concerned with presenting themselves in a good way so as not to be fired. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I modify my behaviour to display a good image to callers as well as other people around me. I am prohibited to display any negative emotions. If this happens, I will be told off by my supervisor* (15:53).

Call centre agents are careful when speaking to callers. They manage themselves when they get upset. They do not want to express their real feelings and prefer to keep negative emotions to themselves. A call centre agent commented:

> *If the caller sounds moody, I hold onto myself so as not to make him/her more upset. If the caller sounds happy, then I manage myself to be happy as well. I have to appraise the situation and then react in a way which seems appropriate at that moment* (16:47).

They force themselves to display self-images that are appropriate in the call centre environment. A call centre agent said:

> *I have to display emotions that others like., not the emotions that I really feel. It is like I am faking my feelings. Like I am lying to*

> *myself. I have to manage my emotions in order to show the proper image to the caller* (15:100).

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research fake their emotions when interacting with callers, supervisors and colleagues. They hide their true emotions in order to display a positive image. They force themselves to manage emotions that are considered to be unfitting to the environment. They tend to manage their anger and sadness in order to appear positively to others. A call centre agent said:

> *I force myself to manage inappropriate emotions so as to show a positive image to callers, colleagues and supervisors. I would say that I mostly manage my anger and sadness* (17:19).

Participants in this research also said that put pressure on themselves to be polite and give a positive impression. EPM makes call centre agents present themselves in a good way so as not to disturb the working situation. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I conceal my anger and bring to the surface a feeling of happiness* (16:96).

Agents become part of the cultural system of the call centre. They do not realise that the EPM system is forcing them to discipline and manage their emotions. Positive self-images are displayed naturally because they have learned to behave according to the norms of the system. They do not problematise the norms. They put on a face which is proper in the call centre surroundings. They embed within themselves the norm of controlling their reactions. This causes them to act by playing roles that others expect to see and hear. A call centre agent commented:

> *I discipline myself to avoid distractions and concentrate on exhibiting the emotion which is appropriate at that moment. I suppress my feelings inside of me and try to keep them there until I leave work* (16:96).

5.6.1.2 Act in a Suitable Way

Participants in this research also said that they act by playing roles that others consider to be suitable (Appendix 3, Matrix 9). They tend to smile and speak in a cheerful voice. They pretend that they are happy and polite by keeping any negative emotions to themselves. They want to express these negative emotions but instead they restrain themselves. They have a tendency to make believe and fake emotions that are not truly felt. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I feel like I am putting a mask on my face. I pretend that everything is ok. I have to deal with irate callers in a calm way but how much can a person put up with? I have to display the emotions that others like. Not the emotions that I really feel. It is like I am faking my feelings. Like, I am lying to myself. I have to manage my emotions in order to show the proper image to the caller* (15:91).

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research display emotions that are not truly felt. They manage themselves in order not to give a bad impression to others. They discipline their emotions in a way which will help them display those emotions that others expect to see. This self-discipline is carried out by keeping emotions inside and

by hiding feelings that others will consider to be inappropriate. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I discipline myself not to answer back in an ill-mannered way. I keep to myself and act in a way which is suitable. It is like we have to follow rules in how we talk towards callers. ... So I keep negative emotions within me. I hide them inside of me* (16:69).

5.6.1.3 Control Expressions

Participants in this research claimed that in exercising compliance they tend to control their expressions (Appendix 3, Matrix 9). They restrain incongruous emotional expressions by revealing only those which are considered proper under the norms of the EPM environment. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I restrain the way I talk to callers. I always manage myself to talk in a formal way. Our supervisors told us to do this from the beginning. I feel that callers wouldn't take me seriously if I talked in an informal way. I am worried not to say something bad. I "measure" my words when I say something* (5:68).

Call centre agents said that they control their irritation because they do not want to be heard in a negative way. Knowing that their supervisors have the power to punish them, they manage their verbal and non-verbal communication in a positive way. This management of communication leads to the management of specific emotions such as anger and fear. They try to express themselves in a polite way. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I have to control the way I express myself both verbally and non-verbally to customers. I am worried that if I lose my temper I will get myself in trouble, so I control myself in a way that others will not misunderstand me. I "close" my anger inside me. I then show feelings that seem appropriate when interacting with the caller* (15:124).

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research control emotions such as sadness, anger and happiness in order to present a good image to others. They feel that negative reactions to the system could be devastating to both their mental world and their future in the organisation. They strive to express themselves in a professional way. They do this by keeping focused and managing themselves so as not to make any mistakes. A call centre agent said:

> *I feel that I am a different person. I cannot show my sadness or anger. A telephone agent cannot do this. Our supervisors tell us that we have to be happy or even smile when talking to callers. I control myself not do or say something bad. I manage my anger because I don't want to seem rude towards him* (6:115).

5.6.1.4 More Professional

Call centre agents in Cy-research strive to express themselves in a professional way (Appendix 3, Matrix 9). EPM forces them to keep things to themselves and always be polite. Since clients are always checking to see whether employees are polite and professional, this leads employees to control themselves. A call centre agent said:

> *I don't want to show callers that I am unprofessional. I control my voice and what I say through the phone. I keep focused on the questionnaire and manage myself so as not to make any mistakes. I try to be careful by focusing more on my work. I mostly manage my anger* (16:26).

5.6.2 Subcategory 2: Management of Emotions

5.6.2.1 Manage Emotions

Participants in this research said that they manage their emotions while working under EPM. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 10, call centre agents tend to manage their anger and sadness in order to portray a positive image to others. They manage laughter because they do not want to give a negative impression, so they control themselves by not laughing at all. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I mostly manage myself when speaking to irate callers. ... Sometimes, I also manage feelings of laughter. For example, someone might say something that might seem funny to me but not for him, so I cannot laugh without a reason* (5:57).

In conforming to the rules of EPM, call centre agents in Cy-research must manage their emotions with the help of self-discipline. Agents comply with the rules of the electronic system by disciplining their emotional reactions. They seek to control their emotions by acting in accordance with the norms like everybody else in the EPM setting. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I control my emotions. Once, I remember my colleague sitting next to me was reprimanded by one of the supervisors for a mistake she had made. This made me feel afraid. I thought that they would tell me off as well. So I always try to avoid making mistakes. (4:29)*

Agents follow the rules of the electronic system as closely as possible in order to meet the criteria of the EPM context.

5.6.2.2 Change my Emotions

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research must change their emotions to display a good image towards others (Appendix 3, Matrix 10). They are not allowed to show adverse emotions. They disguise their anger and bring to the surface feelings that others want to see. They change their emotions so as to adapt to the working environment of EPM. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I have to change the emotions that I am feeling at the specific time in a way which will be viewed in a better way by callers. I do this by managing myself. I conceal within me my negative emotions and bring to the surface the positive ones. I have to show empathy towards the callers. In this way I have to separate my emotions by choosing ones that are appropriate at that moment* (15:70).

Call centre agents appraise each situation differently. Compliance with EPM rules is also connected with the alteration of emotions. Call centre agents in Cy-research

conform to the norms of the working environment by modifying the way they exhibit their emotions. This modification leads them to discipline negative reactions and to convey positive reactions. They do this by hiding negative emotions such as anger and sadness and expressing happiness and cheerfulness. They discipline themselves to change negative thoughts and emotions into positive ones. One call centre agent said:

> *Since our supervisor can spot our mistakes through the monitoring system, I have to modify my feelings in order to present myself in a better way. I try to show that I am happy and friendly. I hide negative emotions like anger and sadness within me* (17:40).

5.6.2.3 Hide True Feelings

Call centre agents in Cy-research tend to hide their true feelings when working under EPM (Appendix 3, Matrix 10). This concealment of feelings is rendered possible by exercising self-discipline and emotion management. They eliminate emotional reactions that are considered bad-mannered by others. They control themselves by not answering back and keeping inappropriate feelings to themselves. A call centre agent said:

> *Mostly I try to hide emotions that others would feel are not proper. I try to avoid speaking in a rude way and express myself politely. I would say that most of the time I manage my anger and irritation, especially when talking to rude callers* (15:26).

They exercise self-discipline by hiding undesirable feelings inside themselves, avoiding distractions and concentrating on their work. They exhibit emotions that others consider to be positive. A call centre agent commented:

> *I simply read whatever is on the questionnaire. It is within our job description. Even if the supervisors tell me that I made a mistake it will not bother me. I will try to correct my mistake. I will hide my feelings in front of them and callers if I am in a bad mood* (3:26).

5.6.2.4 Tired of Managing Emotions (emotional exhaustion)

Participants in this research said that working under EPM makes them feel emotionally drained (Appendix 3, Matrix 10). It is difficult for them to act out positive emotions all the time. They feel that they have to work a lot with their emotions. They have to keep up with the work of others so as not to fall behind. It is psychologically draining for them because they have to force themselves to satisfy other people around them. They have to put a lot of effort into managing their negative emotions. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I feel emotionally drained. It is difficult to act in a happy and friendly way all the time. We are human beings. We all have our bad days. I feel that I have to work a lot with myself. I hold onto myself. I don't open up to others. I generally don't easily express how I truly feel* (15:83).

5.7 Theme 5: Society, Responsibility and Accountability

The evidence of this research shows that the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management can be understood in terms of the socio-cultural environment fostered in the call centre (Appendix 3, Theme 6).

5.7.1 Subcategory 1: Society

5.7.1.1 Satisfy Expectations

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research are forced to act in front of others in the call centre in order to meet expectations. Agents are not aware that society influences their behavior. They discipline their emotions so as to present themselves more appropriately to others. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I have to constantly satisfy the people I interact with. I feel that I have to satisfy the expectations of the people interacting with me. We are expected to speak nicely to callers, we are expected to work well with our colleagues and we are expected to work at a high standard by our supervisors* (15:102).

The environment fostered in the call centre is based on socio-cultural principles. Call centre agents have to satisfy the expectations of people within their setting. They do not want to let other people down. They do not want to be excluded from the group. They force themselves to pretend that everything is OK in order to satisfy the expectations of people around them. A call centre agent said:

> *There are so many expectations from me. It is difficult to satisfy everyone. I try my best but I don't know if they appreciate it. I*

> *have to constantly change my emotions in order to adapt to the demands of the environment* (17:39).

5.7.1.2 Wanting Others to Accept Me

Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research also manage their emotions because they want others to accept them into the group (Appendix 3, Matrix 14). They want to be part of the team, so they behave in similar ways to others in the group. They want to maintain good relationships with their colleagues. They express emotions that will be viewed favourably by others. They do not want to be different from others or be isolated from them. They force themselves to behave like them and appear normal. They display emotions that are in harmony with the culture of the call centre. The words of one call centre agent are characteristic:

> *Due to the time pressures of answering phone calls, I spontaneously express myself in the proper way. I have to contain my anger or my sorrow in order to show to other people that I am like them. I don't want to be like a "fly in the milk" [different]. I force myself to appear enthusiastic* (17:26).

5.7.1.3 Not Wanting to be Humiliated in Front of Others

Participants in this research said that they discipline themselves in order not to be humiliated in front of their colleagues (Appendix 3, Matrix 14). They are careful in the way they display themselves so as to avoid being demeaned in front of others. Call centre agents feel ashamed when their mistakes are detected by the system. They do not like it when their supervisors tell them off in front of everybody. It makes them feel

embarrassed. They manage their emotional reactions so as to avoid being stigmatised in the call centre environment. The EPM system has taught them to be part of a group with similar expectations. Anyone with different feelings, thoughts and actions is considered to be "different". Therefore, call centre agents discipline themselves to behave like others in order to avoid being picked on or bullied. A call centre agent remarked:

> *Even though the reprimand is not made to me, I feel somewhat afraid. I am careful not to make similar mistakes to my colleagues. I don't want to be humiliated in front of everybody* (8:25).

5.7.1.4 Moral Values

Agents feel that it is morally unacceptable to behave inappropriately in the call centre (Appendix 3, Matrix 14). The system builds within their subjectivity a sense of what is right and wrong. They discipline themselves to act out emotions that are morally acceptable to callers, colleagues and supervisors. Agents believe that they have a moral obligation to display appropriate self-images. They believe that they must not be aggressive towards others and must show respect. They are taught to follow behavioural rules and to feel morally responsible for their attitudes towards others. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I have to talk formally to my supervisors and callers. The fact that you are asking people (callers) for help means you ought to be polite. You don't know who might be on the other line. Many callers are older than me, so I have to show that I respect them* (9:109).

5.7.1.5 Criticised by Others

Call centre agents discipline themselves to display appropriate self-images in order not to be criticised for unsuitable reactions or mistakes (Appendix 3, Matrix 14). They do not want to be considered different from other people in their surroundings. They do not want callers and supervisors to say bad things about them. A call centre agent said:

> *I manage my emotions so as not to be told off by my supervisor. Also I don't want to be criticised by others working around me. I would feel embarrassed if this happened. People will start thinking about me in a negative way* (15:32).

5.7.1.6 Feeling Offended

When call centre agents are told off by their supervisors, they feel offended (Appendix 3, Matrix 14). They do not like it when their mistakes are made visible to their colleagues in the call centre, making them feel isolated from others in the group. They feel withdrawn and detached from other people in the call centre environment. They force themselves to act out positive emotions in order to satisfy the culture of Cy-research. A call centre agent said:

> *I feel embarrassed because she might tell me off in front of everybody in the call centre. I feel offended. There are other people, however, who don't mind. They laugh about it and pretend they are cool, as if they are the rebel of the group, that they can do whatever they want. But due to my character, I most of the time feel offended. Perhaps my supervisors talk behind our*

backs about telephone agents. I don't want them to say that I am not a good agent (10:59).

5.7.1.7 Norms

EPM has built a working culture in the call centre which is characterised by norms (Appendix 3, Matrix 14). Call centre agents have become part of the cultural system of the call centre. They obey the rules on how they should express themselves in the environment of Cy-research. One call centre agent said:

I am prohibited from displaying any negative emotions. If this happens, I will be told off by my supervisor. I obey the display rules of the call centre just like the others here. I try to act in the same way as the other agents. It would feel strange both for me and the others if I behaved in a different way (15:52).

5.7.1.8 Work like Others

Participants in this research said that they imitate the behaviour of their colleagues (Appendix 3, Matrix 14). The rules of behaviour are the same for all agents working in the call centre. They work like other people around them and aim to be part of the team by hiding their emotions and eliminating behaviours that are considered by others to be impolite. They are careful not to attract any negative attention. They do not want to be different from others. This helps them adjust faster to the system and adapt more easily to their environment. A call centre agent remarked:

I don't want to be blamed for mistakes. I don't want other people to get hurt in any way because of my wrongdoings. I want others

> *to think of me as being part of their team, as someone who is like them. I cannot break the rules* (15:141).

5.7.2 Subcategory 2: Responsibility and Accountability

5.7.2.1 Feeling Responsible

As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 15, EPM makes call centre agents in Cy-research feel responsible for their performance. Since the system can detect their mistakes, they feel that they have to work according to standards. They have a strong sense of accountability towards themselves as well as others. A call centre agent commented:

> *I hide emotions that are considered impolite. I behave in a concentrated manner. I feel responsible for my own mistakes and try to correct them immediately. I don't want my supervisors and colleagues to notice. I try to keep mistakes to myself* (16:17).

5.7.2.2 Obligation

Call centre agents feel an obligation to behave in a polite way (Appendix 3, Matrix 15). They do not answer back because the call centre environment has taught them to feel obligated to help callers. They exercise self-discipline because they feel they have an obligation to work well in order to be viewed in a satisfactory manner by others in the EPM environment. A call centre agent said:

> *I controlled myself not do or say something bad. I managed my anger because I didn't want to seem rude towards him. It is not my personality to be rude towards people. After all, we are asking for their help. We don't pay them anything. We don't even*

know who they are. We have an obligation to be polite to them (1:22).

5.7.2.3 Not Wanting to Disappoint

Agents do not want to disappoint the people with whom they interact (Appendix 3, Matrix 15). Call centre agents working under EPM display emotions that are not truly felt because they do not want to let others down. They do not like making mistakes because they will dissatisfy their colleagues and supervisors. They discipline themselves to react in ways that they will not hurt others and to avoid misunderstandings. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I don't want to let myself and others down. I try to discipline the way I will react emotionally so as not to cause harm to myself as well as others. I am a sensitive person. I don't want to be blamed for mistakes. I don't want other people to get hurt in any way because of my wrongdoings* (15:136).

5.7.2.4 Feeling Guilty

Call centre agents feel guilty when the system detects their mistakes (Appendix 3, Matrix 15). They do not feel it is right to disrupt the consistency of the call centre. They discipline themselves to avoid errors and to self-improve. A call centre agent commented:

> *I try to do my job as best as possible. When I make mistakes I try to keep them to myself. I try to hide them from others. However,*

afterwards I feel guilty for my mistakes because I should have been more careful (16:93).

5.8 Theme 6: Subjectivity, Internalisation and the Self

The evidence of this research shows that the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management can be understood by looking at the subjective dimension of individuals working under EPM (Appendix 3, Theme 5). Essentially, call centre agents discipline themselves yet they are *not* aware of it. Through internalisation they unconsciously learn to manage their emotions under EPM.

5.8.1 Subcategory 1: Subjectivity

5.8.1.1 Unconscious

The majority of the participants in this research said that they do not recognise that they force themselves to discipline or manage their emotions. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 11, they express emotions expected by others, but they do not realise what exactly is happening. It was not until the researcher started asking questions that they recognized that they might in fact be disciplining themselves. They do not apprehend that their conscience drives them to feel and act in specific ways. They cannot explain what takes place within their minds. Emotions are expressed unconsciously without the need for too much thinking. The management of emotions is deeply rooted in the subjectivity of call centre agents. One call centre agent commented:

I have to fake the way I behave towards callers, my colleagues and supervisors. However, I didn't realise this was happening until now when you raised the point. I think it comes

> *unconsciously to me. Even though I am not thinking about this all the time, I still do it* (16:53).

They exercise self-discipline but they cannot explain how. They believe that self-discipline is an automatic process. It is a development which is rooted in their subjectivity and is triggered instinctively. Only when they were told about self-discipline and emotion management did they realise that this process might be occurring. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I discipline myself, but it is difficult to say exactly how. I guess I restrain my feelings. I hold within me the feelings I think others will dislike and let out the feelings that they feel are appropriate to that specific situation. However, I feel this happens impulsively. I don't think all the time that I need to discipline myself. It happens without noticing* (17:46).

5.8.1.2 Spontaneous Reaction

Call centre agents said that self-discipline is a deeply entrenched process rooted in their subjectivity (Appendix 3, Matrix 11). They do not notice that they are disciplining their emotions. Emotions are managed and expressed spontaneously. Self-discipline seems to be unconscious as people instinctively control their emotions. It becomes part of their character. They express themselves spontaneously in a way which is considered appropriate by others. They are taught by the electronic system to manage and exhibit emotions appropriate to given situations. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I do it because it feels right. Sometimes I don't even realise that I am displaying other emotions. I think it is a spontaneous reaction. Knowing that proper behaviour is part of the system, I have learned to put on the face that is appropriate for specific situations* (15:66).

5.8.1.3 Natural Expression

Call centre agents stated that emotions are expressed naturally without the need for too much thinking (Appendix 3, Matrix 11). The management of emotions is set in their subjectivity. They tend to express emotions required in the call centre context, but they do not notice that they are actually suppressing them. After some time, this management of emotions comes naturally to them and they begin to react without conscious thought. A call centre agent said:

> *Many times it comes naturally. I adjust my feelings to the personality of the caller* (16:42).

5.8.1.4 Unexplainable Process

Agents cannot explain how self-discipline or emotion management occur (Appendix 3, Matrix 11). They are not aware that they are disciplining themselves. They do not realise that their conscience drives them to feel and act in explicit ways. They slowly learn to adapt to the system. They are taught to self-discipline and manage their emotions without thinking about it. The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *It is difficult to explain how this happens. I think that it takes place without really thinking about it. It feels something natural*

> *for me. I didn't notice it before we started talking about it* (16:105).

5.8.1.5 Subconscious

Embedding the rules of the EPM system within call centre agents is a subconscious process (Appendix 3, Matrix 11). Most call centre agents said that they mechanically learn not to make mistakes. It feels natural to them because they subjectively force themselves to follow a routine of correction and self-improvement. Even though they do not notice the system, it is within their subconscious. They tend to remember its presence because they do not know when exactly they are being monitored. Although after a time they become less tense about the system, they still have it in their heads. A call centre agent commented:

> *Electronic monitoring plays an important role. I feel it in almost every discussion I have with callers. You have it in your subconscious from the time you come to work. You know that you are being monitored. You might not be listened to at that moment. It might be tomorrow or the day after* (5:61).

5.8.2 Subcategory 2: Internalisation

5.8.2.1 Inside of Me

Most participants in this research said that when exercising self-discipline they have to deal with a variety of emotions within them. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 12, call centre agents must hide emotions within themselves in order to portray a suitable self-image to others. A call centre agent said:

> *Generally, I am a patient person, but inside of me I was very upset with the caller. I spoke to him in a very polite way but he almost came out of the telephone wanting to beat me up. I believe I had a lot of endurance. Maybe somebody else would not have been so patient. Maybe he would have sworn back or said bad words to him* (1:3).

5.8.2.1 Suppress Feelings

Call centre agents said that they suppress some emotions and bring out emotions that others expect to see (Appendix 3, Matrix 12), as if they were wearing a mask. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I suppress the emotion that is considered wrong by others and express the emotion which is suitable during the conversation with the caller. However, this happens automatically. It is like a switch. When I am overtaken by negative feelings, I discipline myself to switch them off. I then switch on the feelings that seem appropriate by expressing them in the way which is expected by the callers. I don't know how it happens but it happens (17:48).*

The evidence shows that compliance and conformity are associated with the suppression of emotion. This suppression of emotion leads call centre agents in Cy-research to manage their emotions under EPM. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I think that it is a matter of discipline, a discipline of the nerves. It is something that is difficult to explain. It comes impulsively*

> *from inside of me and then is released outside. It is like I am suppressing emotions that I actually feel. I try to bring out feelings that others want to see. Many times, it feels like I am wearing a mask* (15:47).

5.8.3 Subcategory 3: The Self

5.8.3.1 Control Self

Call centre agents control their emotional reactions. As shown in Appendix 3, Matrix 13, companies who are paying for research visit the company to monitor employees, making agents feel stressed and tense. Since clients are always checking to see whether agents are polite and professional, they are forced to exercise self-control. They control emotions such as fear and stress. A call centre agent said:

> *When callers are rude towards me I want to swear back at them but I control myself not to. ... Especially, now with the economic crisis things have become more uncertain and stressful. There are limited jobs out there* (1:124).

The evidence shows that the "self" plays an important role in discipline and the management of emotions under EPM. The electronic monitoring systems installed in the call centre make agents exert self-control, especially when making mistakes. They remove all other thoughts from their mind and focus on the way in which they speak to callers. They discipline themselves to behave properly towards callers. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I control myself when talking. I always discipline myself when logging in and out of the system. I discipline myself when closing calls. This puts me under pressure, especially when it comes to time* [closing calls] *and behaving accordingly* (1:21).

Call centre agents hold back their emotional reactions (Appendix 3, Matrix 13). They force themselves to hold back inappropriate emotions by not expressing them. When they get upset with rude callers, they force themselves to calm down. They keep quiet so that their behaviour will not be misinterpreted. A call centre agent remarked:

> *I don't want others to perceive me in the wrong way. I hold myself back so as not to say anything foolish. When callers swear at me, I swear back to them, but inside of me* (16:5).

5.8.3.4 Forcing Oneself

The evidence shows that call centre agents "force themselves" to discipline their emotions (Appendix 3, Matrix 13). EPM forces them to remain calm and not shout at callers. They push themselves mentally and emotionally to control inappropriate behaviours. They force their minds and bodies to pretend that they are happy and polite by holding in negative emotional reactions. A call centre agent mentioned:

> *I want to shout and sometimes even swear at callers but I am afraid of losing my job* (9:66).

5.8.3.5 Managing Oneself

Call centre agents manage themselves when they are angry, sleepy, tired or bored (Appendix 3, Matrix 13). They manage their formal verbal communication with others. A call centre agent commented:

> *I manage myself when I feel sleepy, tired or bored. When I speak to callers, I force myself not to be rude to them. I am happy when they say that they don't want to take part in the telephone survey. I tell myself "thank god". I don't want to do the research either* (2:56).

5.8.3.6 Protecting Oneself

Call centre agents said that they exercise self-discipline and emotion management to protect themselves from negative consequences (Appendix 3, Matrix 13). They prefer to be told when they are being electronically monitored. This reduces their fear of punishment because they prepare themselves. They can adapt more easily to the system because they can prepare themselves emotionally in advance. They anticipate problems from the beginning of their shift to avoid negative consequences. They consider this process as a form of defense in order to protect themselves.

> *I prefer being told that I am being monitored. I think that it is more right, more logical. By knowing, I prepare myself not to make any mistakes, so the risk of being told off by my supervisors is reduced* (1:17).

5.8.3.7 Keeping Feelings to Oneself

Participants in this research said that they work in a concentrated manner, keeping undesirable feelings to themselves (Appendix 3, Matrix 13). The words of a call centre agent are characteristic:

> *I keep to myself and act in a way which is suitable. It is like we have to follow rules in how we talk to callers. If we break those rules, we will be told off. So I keep negative emotions within me. When I make mistakes I try to keep them to myself* (16:91).

5.9 Summary

The chapter has discussed participant accounts which give meaning to their emotional experiences of being monitored electronically. An interpretivist approach has been used to analyse the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. Interpretations given by interviewees have been considered as social products produced in the context of specific socio-cultural locations. Therefore, the explanations of interviewees have helped to provide an understanding of their subjective experiences of working in an electronic monitoring environment.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter presents a discussion of how the findings of the study relate to the existing literature, how the literature is mobilised to explain the findings and how the theory itself is modified or expanded by this study. The findings of the study offer important theoretical contributions which help advance the debate.

Particularly, the study has shown that call centre agents working under EPM internalise in their thoughts the need to discipline and manage their emotions. They have to exercise self-discipline because the rules of the system dictate what emotions they should express. Call centre agents strive to present their selves in a proficient manner, and they tend to counterfeit their emotions when interacting with others. EPM forces call centre agents to use their disciplinary skills to conform to the environment. This method of obedience and conformism is allied with self-discipline. Call centre agents exercise self-discipline to evade the display of adverse reactions. They consider this process to be a form of defense to protect themselves from verbal abuse. Through self-discipline they use their rationality to correct their mistakes without anybody telling them. The awareness of agents that the electronic system can alert supervisors about their mistakes, leads them to discipline their communication.

The connection between self-discipline and emotion management is influenced by socio-cultural elements. Call centre agents feel that it is morally unacceptable to behave inappropriately in the call centre. The system forces them to feel accountable for their behaviour. They discipline themselves to react in ways that will not hurt others and will avoid misunderstandings. Sometimes agents working under electronic monitoring may not coherently experience self-discipline. Some individuals might react knowingly

towards EPM. However, most agents may not be conscious that they are exercising self-discipline. The EPM system conditions them to subjectively exercise self-discipline and emotion management. Through internalization, they are able to use self-discipline to crossover to emotion management.

The findings of the study offer novel contributions. In contrast to the majority of research, the findings show that the connection between self-discipline and emotion management can be enlightened by looking deeper into issues such as *control, power and discipline*. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that *rationality* and *corrective action* are significant elements that can affect the crossover. Moreover, the findings provide important information concerning the influence of *society, responsibility and accountability*. The theory is also expanded by the findings because they offer empirical evidence regarding the association between self-discipline and *conformity*. Additionally, the findings demonstrate that individuals working under EPM may not always recognize that they discipline themselves. Most of the times they *unconsciously* discipline their emotional reactions due to the social dynamics of the EPM environment. The theory is also expanded by this study in that it shown that the issue of *internalization* plays a key role in the embedness of the EPM disciplinary norms.

6.1 Meaning and Theoretical Import of "Crossover"

The "crossover" between self-discipline and emotion management can be explained both in terms of meaning and theoretical import. With regards to meaning, "crossover" entails the connection between two elements. In this thesis, crossover can be understood as the way in which individuals transfer their discipline to a state of emotion management. For example, a person working under EPM utilises his/her disciplinary

characteristics to manage his/her emotions. Fundamentally, crossover involves a change from one type of activity to another. In this case, it is the conversion of self-discipline to emotion management.

"Crossover" can also be explained by looking into the theoretical import of the term. Particularly, the theory on EPM provides signs that elements such as self-monitoring and self-surveillance entail a crossover from self-discipline to emotion management (Ball, 2010:90). Zirkle and Staples (2005:80) maintain that electronic systems of surveillance and monitoring may control and manipulate workers' behaviours and job performance through their own self-monitoring and discipline. Koskela (2003:292) claims that individuals exercise surveillance over themselves. Edwards (2001:319) argues that self-discipline is neither new nor necessarily in opposition to other forms of discipline, but is still a form of control because it is part of a relationship in which managers aim to establish authority and regulate the direction of workers' efforts (Bandura, 1982; Ganster and Schaubroeck, 1995). Hence, there are indications in the theory, that aspects such as self-control, self-monitoring and self-surveillance play an important role in explaining the affiliation between self-discipline and emotion management.

Moreover, EPM theory provides clues that the regulation of emotions and the adherence to display rules involve a crossover from self-discipline to emotion management (Baumgartner et al., 2002; Holman, 2003; Schuler, 2000). A number of authors claim that the salience and importance of interpersonal job demands may trigger self-regulation activities to monitor compliance with display rules (Clegg, 1998; Hannah, 1997; Holman et al., 2002; Wilk and Moynihan, 2005). Pugh (2002:154) maintains that

the implementation of display rules is a controlled process, requiring planning and effort on the part of the employee. The theory suggests that those under surveillance do not need to be regulated since they regulate themselves (Goldberg and Grandey, 2007; Koskela, 2003; Totterdell and Holman, 2003). Therefore, there are signs in the theory indicating that factors such as self-regulation and display rules are significant in elucidating the connection between self-discipline and emotion management.

Furthermore, the theory on electronic monitoring provides hints that emotional suppression and internal discipline require a crossover from self-discipline to emotion management (Evison, 2001:251). There is a contention that suppression is linked to emotional labour. The theory argues that any form of acting in emotional labour requires the suppression of feelings (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002; Mann, 2010; Taylor and Bain, 1999). Labour which requires one "to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others ... calls for a coordination of mind and feeling" (Hochschild 1983:7, cited in Taylor and Bain, 1999:103). The theory also claims that emotion regulation is linked to internal discipline (Edwards, 2001; Sewell, 1998; Strauss and Sayles, 1980). For instance, Barker (1993, cited in Sewell, 1998:410) showed how this is part of the process of "concertive" control. His account of the introduction of self-managed teams in a case study organisation traced the emergence of this mode of control through the interplay of subjective relations as the teams went about establishing their own norms of task direction, performance evaluation and internal discipline (Sewell, 1998:410). Hence, there are indications in the theory demonstrating that elements such as emotional

suppression and internal discipline play an important part in explaining the association between self-discipline and emotion management.

Additionally, EPM theory provides clues that subjective elements entail a crossover from self-discipline to emotion management (Baumeister et al., 1998; Grebner et al., 2003; Winiecki, 2004; Winiecki and Wigman, 2007). It is argued that emotion management is a subjective process that has as central focus the inner world of individuals. The theory claims that monitoring influences the inner thoughts and feelings of individuals guiding them to work according to standards (Ball, 2009:639). There is a contention that emotion management requires one to interiorize the norms of the external environment. For example, Koskela (2003:292) claims that self-discipline requires individuals to interiorise the norms of the monitoring system to the point that they are their own overseers. People internalise rules, regulate their own behaviour even when it is unnecessary and, thus, exercise power over themselves (Koskela, 2003:2). Therefore, there are hints in the theory signifying that factors such as subjectivity and internalisation are important in showing the existence of a relationship between self-discipline and emotion management.

Taking these factors into consideration, one needs to acknowledge that although the literature offers indications as to the theoretical import of "crossover", it fails to clearly explain what actually happens when individuals transfer from self-discipline to emotion management. This thesis provides more details regarding this "crossover".

6.2 Discussion of Findings

The findings of this study have revealed six main themes which help explain the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management: Control, power and

discipline; rationality and corrective action; compliance, conformity and resistance; emotional labour and management of emotions; society, responsibility and accountability; and subjectivity, internalisation and the self.

6.2.1 Control, Power and Discipline

This study argues that the relationship between self-discipline and emotion management in an EPM context can be explained by looking deeper into issues such as control, power and discipline. Although, the literature has made reference to such issues, it has neglected to comprehensively study the association of these features to self-discipline and emotion management (Deery and Kinnie, 2002; Dormann and Zijlstra, 2010; Rose and Wright, 2005).

For example, Sewell and Wilkinson (1992) claim that visibility is connected to power. Nonetheless, how is this power related to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings of this study help advance the debate by exposing new information. Particularly, call centre agents in Cy-research work in an environment characterized by power and control. EPM systems installed in the call centre of Cy-research are used to control the behaviour of agents. The system allows supervisors to discipline employees more easily. Agents are reminded about electronic monitoring and force themselves to discipline their feelings and behaviours. They are forced, through the EPM system, to recognize and accept their mistakes. The overall aim of supervisors using the system is to build greater efficiency by removing weak links and have everybody working at the same level. This situation places call centre agents in Cy-research in a disadvantageous position because they feel that the system intimidates and threatens them.

Deetz (1998:167) claims that direct control processes use fear to achieve obedience. However, is this fear and obedience linked in some way to self-discipline and the management of emotions? The findings demonstrate that the EPM systems of Cy-research keep call centre agents constantly alert so that they can carry out their jobs faultlessly. They are afraid of making mistakes and are worried about losing their jobs. Call centre agents in Cy-research have always to be careful not to say or do anything wrong. They are cautious because they are worried that they might be told off in front of their colleagues. Employees feel surprised, upset and worried when this happens because they do not want the same thing to happen to them. They feel embarrassed that their supervisors might tell them off. They feel embarrassed when reprimanded in front of others, and therefore discipline themselves to be cautious and alert to not making mistakes. EPM makes agents behave according to the rules so that they do not present themselves negatively in front of their colleagues. Knowing that the system can detect their faults, call centre agents in Cy-research are afraid of being punished. Call centre agents in Cy-research have to discipline themselves because the rules of the system dictate what emotions they should express. Agents have to follow the instructions of the electronic monitoring system or suffer the consequences. By making detection and retaliation inevitable, such systems make disobedience unthinkable.

Ball and Wilson (2000:540) argue that the connection between power, control and resistance is important in explaining reactions to electronic monitoring, which may lead to behavioural control. Nevertheless, there is no indication in the literature concerning the ways in which this behaviouaral control is connected to self-discipline and emotion management. The findings show that EPM in Cy-research embeds the significance of

controlling and disciplining their behaviours in the minds of call centre agents, and aims to rationalize the tasks carried out by agents so as to increase their productivity. Call centre agents in Cy-research tend to control and discipline their anger and irritation when speaking to rude callers and they feel insecure and fearful because they do not know when they are being monitored. The electronic monitoring system intimidates call centre agents, which is linked to discipline. Call centre agents are affected by what is happening to others around them. They feel afraid and worried that the same might happen to them. The norms in the call centre demand that their performance is always high. Consequently, employees suppress the way they feel to avoid being punished. The technological system builds a working environment based on normative control. Control is therefore facilitated through a combination of IT-generated data and the inculcation of cultural and informal norms, in other words by technical and normative means.

Edwards (2001:317) claims that the exercise of discipline is not a discrete activity to be equated with an event like a disciplinary hearing but is achieved continuously through rules and expectations in the very fabric of an organization. Nonetheless, the literature does not specify how this exercise of discipline is linked to self-discipline and emotion management. The findings show that call centre agents discipline themselves because the rules of the system dictate what self-images they can portray. Agents in Cy-research are severely constrained in making choices in the use of the system. They must make sure that they carry out their job correctly in order to avoid punishment. Call centre agents must satisfy the expectations of the electronic monitoring environment. EPM drives call centre agents to control their internal emotions. The system forces them to behave politely and obey the rules of emotional labour. As time passes, they embed in

their minds the need to be disciplined in the call centre. While the subjectivity produced in measurement practices and inscription systems is considered to be objective, it is used by the call centre as a basis on which to make decisions that organise and discipline the worker (Dormann and Zijlstra, 2010).

Callaghan and Thompson (2013) maintain that control is established through technology, and this is strengthened and expanded through the use of bureaucratic control in shaping the social and organisational structure of the workplace. However, the literature fails to explain how this type of control affects the connection between self-discipline and the management of emotions. The findings indicate that the type of control exercised under EPM is characterised by discipline. The electronic system disciplines call centre agents in Cy-research not to express themselves in the wrong way by holding back inappropriate emotions. Agents in Cy-research become part of the cultural system of the call centre. They display appropriate emotions spontaneously because they have learned to behave according to the rules of EPM. EPM has made control part of the call centre context in Cy-research.

Torrington and Hall (1995:529-530) maintain that team discipline involves the mutual dependency of all and a "commitment by each member to the total organisation". In what ways, however, is team discipline related to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings show that the EPM systems used in Cy-research exert discipline over a group of call centre agents simultaneously. Call centre agents in Cy-research are cautious and alert because they are worried that they might be told off in front of others. They feel embarrassed to be made a spectacle in front of everybody in the call centre. Supervisors intentionally use EPM to reprimand employees and tell them

off in front of their colleagues. They use the system to wield their power not only over one person but over the whole group, and depend heavily on EPM to control the working environment. In essence, EPM seeks to control not only individuals but groups of people simultaneously.

Nevertheless, some call centre agents in Cy-research said that they do not feel that they are disciplined or controlled by EPM. On the contrary, they believe that the system helps them overcome problems and improve their work. There may be variations in how individuals experience the system emotionally. This contradicts the literature which claims that surveillance always makes people feel that they are being controlled (Foucault, 1979; Fernie and Metcalf, 1998), showing that caution is required when discussing the connection between EPM and discipline. The assertion that "the supervisor's power has been rendered perfect – via the computer monitoring screen" seems to be false, and fully adopting Foucauldian philosophies may be misleading (Haggerty, 2006). Work organisations may not be the "total institutions" that many authors claim (Ball and Wilson, 2000). This thesis has revealed that call centre agents may not always experience EPM as a form of power but as a form of improvement. Therefore, this study helps advance the current debate regarding the role of control power and discipline in self-discipline and emotion management.

6.2.2 Compliance, Conformity and Resistance

This study has also revealed that the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management can be explained from a conformity point of view. Whilst, the literature has made reference to issues concerning compliance, conformity and resistance, it has nonetheless, failed to extensively examine the connection of these aspects to self-

discipline and emotion management (Bain and Taylor, 2000; Weller 2012; Winiecki, 2004).

For instance, Weller (2012:59) argues that contemporary developments in tools and technologies specifically designed to monitor, control and rationalise human activities lead to the experience of normalised conformity. Nevertheless, the literature fails to clarify how this conformity is associated to self-discipline and emotion management. The findings of this study help advance the debate by offering more details. More specifically, call centre agents in Cy-research working under EPM are forced through control and discipline to comply with the system. Workers are disciplined according to their compliance with norms. Call centre employees have little control over work pacing, system speed or task design and yet may be disciplined if the system indicates they are not complying with agreed standards. When call centre agents in Cy-research get upset with rude callers, they force themselves to calm down and keep quiet, holding negative feelings inside themselves. They worry that if they resist the system, punishment will result. They are forced to obey the EPM rules by managing their emotions. This form of compliance and conformity is associated with self-discipline.

Bain and Taylor (2000:6) maintain that people may act as passive subjects in order to avoid reprimand, and agents' silence appears to confirm that they are passive subjects. Nonetheless, there is no explanation in the literature how this passivity relates to self-discipline and the management of emotions. Participants in this research said that they discipline themselves to avoid expressing unwanted emotions. More specifically, knowing that the system monitors their conversations, call centre agents in Cy-research

discipline their reactions to comply with the norms of the working environment. Uncertain whether they are being watched, they begin to watch themselves.

Ball (2010:93) suggests that monitoring produces conformity, where employees behave in a docile and accepting way, and automatically reduce the amount of commitment and motivation they display. However, the literature fails to elucidate how this docility influences self-discipline and emotion management. The findings of this study show that EPM forces call centre agents in Cy-research to conform to the guidelines of EPM, hiding their authentic emotions by being polite and not answering back to rude callers. Through conformity, agents in Cy-research discipline themselves not to show feelings of anger and irritation. EPM makes them conform to the norms of the system by keeping them concentrated on their work. They discipline themselves by controlling the way in which they express themselves. Knowing that the EPM system can alert supervisors to their mistakes, they manage their own verbal and non-verbal communication. This management of communication leads to the management of specific emotions such as anger and fear. Agents choose not to express themselves by holding back the expression of negative feelings and remaining silent or passive.

Norris and Armstrong (1999:6) maintain that through anticipatory conformity, individuals force themselves to comply with the social order and strive to become part of a cultural group. Nevertheless, there is no indication in the literature how this anticipatory conformity is linked to self-discipline. The findings show that agents control their own emotional expressions and entrench standards of behaviour by expressing only emotions which are viewed as appropriate to the call centre context. Call centre agents in Cy-research imagine how negative reactions will be interpreted by

others and try to avoid them before they are expressed, seeking to present themselves as relaxed and stress-free.

Agents in Cy-research conform to cultural norms nurtured in the call centre, leading them to exercise self-discipline. Through anticipatory conformity, individuals comply voluntarily with the social order and strive to become part of the cultural group.

Call centre agents in Cy-research, however, may also resist when working under EPM. They remain silent but find it difficult to do this all the time. A number of interviewees admitted that they are unable to manage and control their negative feelings over a considerable length of time, leading them to resist the electronic monitoring system. Sometimes, after closing a call, they make fun of the caller with other agents, showing a need to externalize negative emotions. They are unable to act continuously and display inauthentic emotions. They feel a need to resist the pressure of the system by leaving a line open, entering the wrong information on a questionnaire or leaving the company.

These findings also contradict the arguments made by some authors concerning the passivity of individuals working under EPM. Individuals may not be perfectly docile and compliant, as Foucault predicted (Ball, 2009:640). Fernie and Metcalf's (1998) claim that through surveillance power is "rendered perfect" may not be entirely valid (Taylor and Bain, 1999:102). The findings show that some call centre agents in Cy-research are not always passive, but sometimes resist being controlled by these systems. They feel that they are defending themselves and protecting their privacy when exercising resistance to EPM. Call centre agents may not always have as much strength as others to discipline their emotional reactions.

6.2.3 Rationality and Corrective Action

Furthermore, this study has revealed that rationality and corrective action are important factors that can help explain the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. Even though, the literature has discussed the importance of rationality and corrective action, it has nonetheless, failed to broadly explore the connection of these aspects to self-discipline and emotion management, particularly in an EPM environment (Charlesworth, 2003; Winiecki, 2004; Winiecki and Wigman, 2007).

For example, Hopper and Macintosh (1998:138) maintain that EPM identifies weak links in the system and tries to correct or eliminate them instantly. Nonetheless, there are no sufficient explanations in the literature regarding the link between correction, self-discipline and emotion management. The findings of this study help advance the debate by exposing new information. Particularly, EPM requires agents in Cy-research to behave in a coherent and appropriate manner in order to avoid embarrassment or punishment. Supervisors in Cy-research use a system of power (EPM) to create a disciplined environment to ensure that all agents follow the same rules. The performance of every call centre agent is evaluated on a daily basis using productivity reports. Through the system, all employees are trained to work quickly and mechanically. The EPM environment in Cy-research is based largely on disciplinary principles, by which everybody is taught to correct inconsistent behaviour. Agents in Cy-research learn to behave rationally like others working around them, becoming part of the call centre environment.

Sewell (1998:404) maintains that social forces may affect the subjectivity of individuals, often based on particular systems of instrumental knowledge that rationalise human

behaviour to render people compliant, docile and useful. The litetature, however, fails to elucidate how this rational behaviour influences self-discipline the management of emotions. The finidngs demonstrate that supervisors intentionally remind agents of the presence and consequences of monitoring by shouting at people in front of others, leading them to manage their emotions. When call centre agents in Cy-research discipline their emotions under EPM, they control their expressions. Call centre agents in Cy-research learn to anticipate problems before they actually happen, reducing the possibility of mistakes. Through self-discipline they are able to correct their mistakes and adhere to organisational norms without anybody telling them to do so. They are concerned with presenting themselves in a good way so as satisfy the expectations of the environment. Because their supervisors listen to their calls, they force themselves to remain calm and control feelings of anger. Call centre agents tend to forget that the electronic system is monitoring them. Nevertheless, specific events influence them to exercise self-discipline and emotion management, such as when companies who are paying for research visit the centre to monitor employees. Therefore, agents must behave in a rational way in the call centre environment.

Schleifer and Shell (2002:50) claim that individuals working under EPM become aware that they cannot get away with mistakes, and seek to understand its guidelines. However, the literature does not specify how this awareness is connected to self-discipline and emotion management. The findings show that call centre agents in Cy-research are preoccupied with correcting themselves because they are aware that they are being monitored. Using electronic monitoring, supervisors in Cy-research are able to take immediate corrective action. Call centre agents in Cy-research think about the

presence of EPM and what consequences it may cause them. They have internalised the call centre's norms of behavior.

Call centre agents recall unpleasant memories from the past and modify their behaviour to match the other agents in the call centre. Call centre agents in Cy-research learn to exercise self-correction and are able to manage their reactions by disciplining themselves to correct their mistakes instantly. The individual being monitored exercises self-improvement in order to avoid mistakes in future. They learn to follow the norms of the system and get used to dealing with difficult situations. EPM trains them to work more effectively.

6.2.4 Emotional labour and management of emotions

Moreover, this study argues that the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management can be explained from an emotional labour standpoint. While considerable has been written on emotional labour and the management of emotions, research has nonetheless failed to expand on the role of these factors on the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. The majority of authors have left the issue of "self-discipline" unexplored. They have mostly emphasized the degree to which surveillance causes individuals to manage their behaviours (Holman et al., 2002; Stanton and Barnes-Farrell, 1996; Taylor et al., 2002).

For instance, Briner (1999, cited in Donald, 2001:283) notes that "almost all supervisory or managerial jobs require the suppression of some emotions and the display of others". Nonetheless, how is this suppression of emotions linked to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings of this study help advance the debate by revealing more details. Particularly, call centre agents in Cy-research said that self-discipline plays an

important part in the way they manage their emotions while working under EPM. More specifically, the findings indicate that self-discipline is carried out by suppressing emotions and hiding feelings that others might consider to be inappropriate. Call centre agents in Cy-research manage themselves when they get upset. They conceal their anger and convey feelings that others want to see. They discipline themselves by avoiding distractions and concentrating on their work. At Cy-research, EPM forces agents to keep things to themselves and always be polite. When call centre agents in Cy-research manage their emotions under EPM, they control their expressions. Agents suppress their genuine emotions and force themselves to present impressions appropriate to the call centre environment. Call centre agents strive to express themselves in a professional way by keeping focused and trying not to make mistakes. They tend to fake their emotions when interacting, smiling and speaking in a cheerful voice. Call centre agents in Cy-research pretend that they are happy and polite. They discipline their emotions, considering this as a form of defense to protect themselves from verbal abuse. They bury their feelings and avoid answering back.

Evison (2001:251) claims that strategies addressed by research on emotional regulation include suppression, repression, reappraisal and rumination. However, there are no details in the literature with regards to how this emotional regulation is associated to self-discipline and the management of emotions. The findings of this study show that call centre agents in Cy-research regulate their emotions to display a good image to others. The emotions of agents in Cy-research tend to change while working under EPM. They are emotionally drained by having to manage their emotions, and it is

difficult for them to act positively all the time. They have to put a lot of effort into hiding their true emotions.

The rudeness of callers also causes call centre agents in Cy-research to manage their emotional expressions. Agents in Cy-research suppress feelings of anger in order not to be reprimanded. Call centre agents manage themselves when they get upset and fake their emotions when interacting with callers, supervisors and colleagues. They force themselves to manage emotions that are considered unfitting to the environment. They tend to manage their anger and sadness in order to portray a positive appearance to callers, colleagues and supervisors. They try to exhibit emotions which are considered normal in the call centre, even though these may not be authentic.

Belt, Richardson and Webster (1999) suggest that during service transactions, employees are expected to display emotions that comply with organisational norms or standards. Nevertheless, how is this display of emotions connected to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings demonstrate that agents become part of the cultural system of the call centre and do not realise that the EPM system is forcing them to discipline and manage their emotions. Call centre agents in Cy-research present a positive image naturally because they have learned to behave according to the norms of the system. They manage feelings of anger so as not to sound or appear aggressive towards others. They control themselves by not answering back and keeping their feelings inside of them. They restrain incongruous emotional expressions by revealing only those considered appropriate to the norms of the EPM environment. Call centre agents in Cy-research have to obey display rules by not expressing negative feelings and

showing respect to others. They feel that negative reactions to the system might disturb their own mental world as well as their future in the organization.

Zapf (2002:241) argues that "implicit emotional display rules exist through high-performance expectations". The literature, however, fails to explicate how these emotional display rules are related to self-discipline and emotion management. The findings of this study show that when conforming to the rules of EPM, call centre agents in Cy-research have to manage their emotions. The management of emotion is carried out with the help of self-discipline. Agents in Cy-research comply with the rules of the electronic system by disciplining their emotional reactions. They follow the rules of the electronic system as closely as possible in order to meet the criteria of the EPM context. Mann (1999:353) claims that "emotional dissonance, relates to an internal state of conflict. There must be internal emotional dissonance for emotional labour to exist, and this must be accompanied by a behavioural emotional display". Call centre agents experience in Cy-research emotional dissonance because they display emotions that are different from those they actually feel. They discipline themselves to suppress authentic emotions and display fake emotions. Emotional dissonance in Cy-research reflects a state of tension that results when emotional expressions are actually different from internal feelings. Hence, this study helps advance the current debate concerning the role of self-discipline in emotion management.

Research has shown that emotional dissonance is generally associated with impaired wellbeing, such as emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, irritation, psychosomatic complaints and reduced job satisfaction (Dormann et al., 2002; Zapf, 2002). Grandey (2000) maintains that when workers experience emotions other than those they are

required to express as part of their occupational role, the dissonance that results from this acting and the effort involved in regulating their emotions lead to emotional exhaustion. Nonetheless, the literature fails to explain how this emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion is linked to self-discipline. More specifically, call centre agents in Cy-research have to use considerable mental resources to deal with others. It is psychologically draining for them to listen to and mentally cope with the verbal abuse. They have to put a lot of effort into disciplining negative emotions, and they sometimes feel emotionally exhausted as a result of holding back their true emotions. This may explain why some call centre agents in Cy-research resist EPM. Some may not have as much strength as others to discipline their emotional reactions. Internal emotional conflict may vary from person to person, especially when it comes to emotional labour and emotional dissonance. There must be internal emotional dissonance for emotional labour to exist. Emotional exhaustion may also result from excessive self-discipline. The effort required depletes one's energy and emotions, resulting in feelings of estrangement from self and emotional exhaustion. However, these authors do not state the role of self-discipline in this emotional exhaustion. The findings of this study show that the more call centre agents in Cy-research exercise self-discipline, the more tired they feel. They are psychologically and mentally drained. Emotional exhaustion results when there is an imbalance between the emotional demands of work and the personal psychological resources available to meet such demands.

6.2.5 Society, Responsibility and Accountability

This study has also revealed that society, responsibility and accountability are important in explaining the transfer from self-discipline to emotion management. Although, the

literature has discussed the significance of these issues, it has nevertheless, failed to clarify their role in self-discipline and emotion management (Grant, 2000; Spitzmüller and Stanton, 2006; Stanton and Weiss, 2000).

For example, Bond and Bunce (2003:1057) maintain that surveillance may affect employee attitudes, emotions, beliefs and norms. Nonetheless, how are these aspects connected to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings of this study help advance the debate by exposing new information. Call centre agents in Cy-research construct their realities whilst working under EPM. The interpretations of call centre agents at Cy-research illustrate the views, values, beliefs and ideologies of people working in a surveillance environment. In particular, the emotions experienced by call centre agents are strongly entrenched in their EPM surroundings.

The technological environment in which call centre agents work largely determines their emotional behaviour. The interpretations of call centre agents taking part in the study show that the association between self-discipline and emotion management is influenced by social systems and power relations, and the context in which all employees in the call centre work plays a role in their experience of self-discipline and emotion management. Call centre agents working in Cy-research are forced by the EPM system to obey the rules of the environment. They must satisfy the expectations of people within their surroundings. Agents in Cy-research feel a moral obligation to control their emotions in an EPM cultural environment claim that control is facilitated through a combination of IT-generated data and the inculcation of cultural and informal norms or, in other words, by both technical and normative means.

Sewell (2012:306) claims that direct surveillance exerts disciplinary force through a superior's ability to subject subordinates to "moral management". The literature, however, fails to elucidate how this moral management is linked to self-discipline and the management of emotions. The findings show that call centre agents feel obliged to provide what that their immediate environment expects of them. Call centre agents in Cy-research exercise self-discipline and emotion management in order to satisfy personal and group expectations. They cannot show their real feelings in front of callers, colleagues and supervisors for fear of being viewed negatively. This shows that the agents in Cy-research worry about other people's opinions and strive to meet their expectations. They inspect their own performance and try not to disappoint callers, colleagues and supervisors. They want to work like others in the group and do not want to be isolated from the culture of the call centre. Call centre agents learn to obey the rules of EPM, just as in society citizens learn to obey the norms. They feel ashamed when reprimanded in front of others. The system makes them behave according to the norms so as not to present themselves negatively in front of others.

Carayon (1993:386) maintains that while growing up, people experience certain expectations from society, based on the social, cultural and political acceptance of people with different levels of power in society. Nevertheless, there are no details in the literature as to how these social expectations are connected to self-discipline and emotion management. The findings of this study demonstrate that call centre agents in Cy-research are conditioned by the environment to be part of a group with similar expectations. Anyone with different feelings, thoughts and actions is considered to be "different" or "abnormal". Call centre agents in Cy-research force themselves to behave

like others in order to avoid being picked on or bullied. This helps them adjust faster to the disciplinary norms of the system.

Call centre agents in Cy-research acclimatise more easily to the EPM environment. They feel responsible for their performance and try to continuously improve it. They must keep up with the work of others so as not to fall behind. Agents feel embarrassed when the electronic system detects their mistakes and they do not want to be criticised for not working well; hence, in order to avoid embarrassment they discipline themselves to be cautious and alert against making mistakes. The culture fostered in the call centre pushes agents to self-protection. Agents manage their emotions and do not answer back to rude callers because they feel obliged to help them. They pretend that they are not negatively influenced in any way).

The environment fostered in the call centre is based on socio-cultural principles. Call centre agents in Cy-research strive to satisfy the expectations of people within their setting. They do not want to let other people down or be excluded from the group. They force themselves to pretend that everything is OK in order to satisfy the expectations of the people around them. They regulate their emotions so as to present themselves more properly to others. Through self-regulation individuals are forced to put into effect specific display rules in order to meet the needs of the external environment.

Call centre agents regulate their emotions because they want others to accept them into the group. In particular, the environment of an individual determines the adoption of a variety of emotion regulation strategies. Agents want to be part of the team, so they behave in similar ways to others in the group. They want to maintain good relationships with their colleagues, so they express emotions that will be viewed favourably by others.

The cultural group norms, social values and means used to organise and manage agents' work will influence their reactions toward EPM.

The EPM system in the call centre of Cy-research has taught them to be part of a group with similar expectations. Through surveillance, people are taught to acknowledge on their own what is right and what is wrong. The moral values communicated in society also influence the ways in which call centre agents in Cy-research perceive EPM. Social norms in the call centre are based on moral principles. Individuals will exercise self-discipline based on the moral beliefs that they have embedded over the years and will take decisions which they will feel are appropriate and correct. Moral judgments are continuously made at different stages of our lives to determine what is right and wrong. These moral values also strongly influence employee perceptions in organisations. The ways in which individuals understand given working situations emotionally are derived from their moral contemplation of the working task. The responses of people working under EPM are influenced by their level of moral understanding of the technological system.

Alder (2001:323) argues that organisational culture plays a key role in the implementation of EPM practices. Nonetheless, how is this culture associated to self-discipline and the management of emotions? The findings show that call centre agents force themselves to act out positive emotions in order to satisfy the culture of Cy-research. EPM has created a working culture in the call centre of Cy-research which is characterised by norms. Call centre agents have become part of the cultural system of the call centre. They have internalised the call centre's norms of behavior. Call centre agents in Cy-research discipline themselves to follow the customs of the call centre

setting. They imitate the behaviour of their colleagues. The rules of behaviour are the same for all agents working in the call centre. They work like other people around them and aim to be part of the team. They do this by hiding their emotions and eliminating behaviours that are considered by others to be impolite. They are careful not to raise any negative attention.

EPM influences call centre agents in Cy-research to feel responsible for their performance. Since the system can detect their mistakes, they feel that they have to work hard to satisfy the expectations of people in the call centre environment. They are overtaken by a sense of accountability toward themselves as well as others. The moral values built by society may lead individuals to embed feelings of accountability within their subjectivity. People in society learn from a young age to follow specific accountability rules. They are taught to feel and do the "right" thing. Part of the call centre ethos is that expectations are couched in terms of individuals' own power over and responsibility for their performance, experiences and attitudes.

Call centre agents in Cy-research feel an obligation to behave politely. They do not answer back because the call centre environment has taught them to feel obliged to help callers. They exercise self-discipline because they feel they have an obligation to work well and not disappoint people with whom they interact. The system defines how agents blame themselves and to take action on their own to improve their performance. Employees use the data produced by monitoring to identify free riders or those who are "letting the side down", which leads them to discipline each other accordingly.

6.2.6 Subjectivity, Internalisation and the Self

Moreover, this study has revealed that subjectivity, internalisation and the self can help advance our knowledge regarding the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. Whilst, the literature has discussed these issues, it has nonetheless, failed to expand on their role in self-discipline and emotion management (Baumeister et al., 1998; Sewell, 1998; Winiecki and Wigman, 2007).

For instance, Tabor (2001:128) claims that the subjectivity of individuals creates a conscience which drives how they assess different circumstances, both inside and outside the workplace. Nevertheless, how is this subjectivity linked to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings of this study help advance the debate by revealing new information. The relationship between self-discipline and emotion management can be described by examining the subjective dimension of individuals working under EPM. Call centre agents in Cy-research who manage their emotions under EPM have to deal with their own sense of "self". The "self" plays an important role in the subjectivity of call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research. They must manage their innermost selves in order to cope with the EPM environment. With regard to the role of the self in discipline, they internalise the discipline imposed on them by the electronic system. Winiecki and Wigman (2007:118) maintain that a worker's self is defined by the stance taken towards rules. Agents in Cy-research discipline their subjectivity. They discipline their subjectivity in order to manage their emotions. By doing so, they are able to display self-images which are appropriate to emotional labour. The call centre agent's self is defined by the stance he or she takes

towards rules. Internal discipline takes place within them causing them to manage their emotions.

Strauss and Sayles (1980:218) argue that "the best discipline is self-discipline, the normal human tendency to do one's share and to live up to the rules of the game". However, there are no details in the literature as to how this self-discipline is connected to the management of emotions. The findings of this study show that call centre agents in Cy-research exercise self-discipline because they have to adhere to the performance norms of EPM. This self-discipline, however, goes unnoticed. Call centre agents in Cy-research use self-discipline as a tool to manage their emotions, especially when displaying self-images in a social setting. Through self-discipline, they are in a position to more easily exercise emotion management. Call centre agents in Cy-research conceal their anger and bring to the surface feelings that others want to see. They exercise self-management. Call centre agents in Cy-research discipline themselves to avoid distractions and concentrate on their work. They suppress feelings that are not viewed as positive, such as anger and sorrow. They suppress their feelings and force themselves not to answer back. They are forced from the beginning of their employment to obey the rules of electronic monitoring, thus making discipline part of their subjectivity.

The majority of authors have studied the experience of EPM as a rational process (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992; Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). The literature has failed to consider the spontaneous characteristics of the system. This study, however, has revealed that this experience may also contain unconscious features. The findings show that individuals may not always rationally experience self-discipline under EPM. Not all people may react consciously towards this system. Most call centre agents were

not rationally aware that they discipline themselves. Call centre agents in Cy-research unconsciously regulate their emotions when exercising self-discipline. They do not need to be regulated since they regulate themselves. Using self-surveillance, call centre agents are able to automatically discipline their emotional reactions. By instinctively exercising self-monitoring and self-surveillance, individuals monitor their own behaviours and emotions.

Call centre agents do not realise that the system is teaching them to work better. They do not notice that they are being influenced by the system in any way. They unconsciously learn to adapt to the process of self-discipline as prescribed by the electronic monitoring environment. The process of self-discipline and emotion management is unpredictable and may change at any moment. It may thus involve both conscious and unconscious elements, based on the socio-cultural environment and the individual's interactions. Call centre agents in Cy-research learn to discipline themselves automatically and manage their emotions. Emotions tend to be managed naturally without needing much thinking, being deeply rooted in their internal world. Agents express feelings required by others but do not realise that they are actually managing themselves. Expressions are displayed spontaneously because they learn to manage themselves according to the rules of the EPM system without question. They put on a face appropriate to the situation. This is shown in the answers of interviewees concerning the link between society and self-discipline. Call centre agents in Cy-research are unaware that society influences their behaviour because norms have been inserted in their subjectivity. They do not realise that their conscience drives them to feel and act in specific ways. They cannot explain what takes place within them. It feels natural for them because they subjectively force

themselves to follow a routine of self-discipline, correction and self-improvement. As agents strive to manage their emotions, they are unconsciously exercising self-management.

Therefore, individuals working under EPM may not always realize that they discipline themselves. Many individuals discipline themselves yet they are not aware of it. They do not reflect on the disciplinary process. Most of the times, they unconsciously discipline their emotional reactions due to the social dynamics of the EPM environment. Therefore, accomplishing self-discipline through emotion management takes place naturally to individuals.

Furthermore, the literature has neglected to seriously take into consideration the relationship between internalisation and self-discipline (Hingst, 2006; Koskela, 2003; Tabor, 2001). For example, Wallis and Poulton (2001:16) argue that internalisation "plays an integral developmental role in structuralization of the psyche as well as in the formation of internal objects and regulatory mechanisms". Nonetheless, how is this internalisation linked to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings demonstrate that the electronic monitoring systems used in the call centre instill discipline by unconsciously "internalizing" the norms of the environment. Call centre agents working under EPM in Cy-research spontaneously interiorise surveillance. They do not recognise that they are regulating or disciplining their own emotions. The agents express emotions that are expected by others but may not realise what is actually happening. Emotional regulation under EPM may take on characteristics of an automatic, non-conscious process. After a while, call centre agents in Cy-research are not aware that their conscience is driving them to feel and act in specific ways. The

process of self-discipline and emotion management is deeply rooted in the subjectivity of call centre agents. They exercise self-discipline but they cannot explain how. They believe that self-discipline is an automatic process. It is rooted in their subjectivity and is triggered instinctively. Agents working under EPM in Cy-research do not know that they are managing their feelings. Only when they were told about self-discipline and emotion management did they realise that this process might be occurring. EPM leads to automatic subservience, without the need for direct monitoring and management. This automatic subservience takes place when workers suppress emotional reactions in daily work situations in order to project a friendly and confident manner to others.

Call centre agents in Cy-research do not discern that they are disciplining their emotions, and self-discipline seems to be unconscious, as people instinctively control their emotions. They tend to express emotions required in the call centre context but they do not notice that they are actually suppressing other emotions. After some time, this management of emotions comes naturally to them and they begin to react without thought. In an EPM environment, employees' conscience tells them that they should be working without error according to the speed and rules of the system. Their inner thoughts and feelings guide them to work according to standards and avoid any inappropriate behaviours.

Call centre agents in Cy-research cannot explain how self-discipline or emotion management occurs. They slowly learn to adapt to the system. They are taught to self-discipline and manage their emotions without thinking about it. Embedding the rules of the EPM system within call centre agents is a subconscious process. Even though they do not notice the system, it is within their subconscious. They tend to forget its presence

because they do not know when exactly they are being monitored, and after a time they are less tense about the system, but they still have it at the back of their minds. This shapes their subjectivity when working under EPM.

Koskela (2003:2) postulates that people internalise rules, regulate their own behaviour even when it is unnecessary and, thus, exercise power over themselves. Nevertheless, how does this internalisation of rules lead to self-discipline and emotion management? The findings of the study show that through internalisation, call centre agents in Cy-research incorporate the cultural values, motives and beliefs of the EPM context through learning, socialisation and identification. Agents in Cy-research make subjective the rules of the electronic monitoring system. They make the behaviour cultivated in the call centre part of their nature by learning and unconsciously assimilating the norms. Call centre agents in Cy-research discipline their subjective selves so as to behave properly towards callers. Through self-discipline, they are able to correct their own mistakes without anybody telling them.

The process of internalisation, therefore, requires individuals to discipline their inner emotions, particularly when faced with external pressures such as EPM. Call centre agents in Cy-research exercise emotional labour through internalisation. Individuals experience pressure to internalise role demands because failure to internalise organisational display rules will lead ultimately to poor perceived job performance and job loss. Emotional labour includes both an internal component (the conflict experienced as a result of discrepancy between genuine and expected emotion) and an external component (the demands made on employees in terms of expectations or intensity of display.

Mann (1999:348) argues that internalisation triggered by surveillance may lead to conflict within the psyche of the individual (internal) due to social inconsistencies (external) in the roles played at particular times. However, there are no explanations in the literature as to how this is connected to the discipline of the self and the management of emotions. The findings show that call centre agents in Cy-research spontaneously internalise as a result of their moral values and beliefs. This internalisation of moral beliefs is linked to social influence. The role of society in the experience of internalisation is significant in explaining why and how this process takes place. Call centre agents in Cy-research have to manage a variety of emotions when talking to callers (e.g. anger, frustration). In such situations, they must internalise emotions required by the organisation, regardless of their real emotions, in order to influence customers' emotions in a goal-oriented manner. Internalisation is a subjective process constructed through social involvement which is transferred to various other settings such as organisations. The subjectivity of individuals will activate "correct" emotions that have been internalised earlier by society and the organisation.

Call centre agents in Cy-research internalize the norms of the EPM systems by subjugating and controlling their own emotional responses during telephone contact with callers. They subdue their true feelings and detach themselves emotionally from hostile or difficult callers. Call centre agents in Cy-research discipline themselves to subdue unsuitable emotional reactions. They contain their anger and show only feelings regarded as appropriate to the call centre environment. The EPM system defines the ways call centre agents subjectively exercise self-discipline and emotion management. Discipline is organised into distinct spatial and temporal structures and power becomes

internalised and, to a considerable extent, invisible. This discipline is exercised as a form of control or regulator within the individual. Individuals unconsciously use internalisation as the medium to crossover to the management of emotions. As a result, this process leads them to exercise effective emotional labour.

6.3 Summary of Findings and Novel Contribution

This chapter has discussed how the findings of this study relate to the current literature and has summarized the study's contributions to that literature. The findings of the study help advance the debate by shedding new light on the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management

Although the majority of research has made reference to issues concerning *control, power and discipline*, it has nevertheless, failed to comprehensively study the association of these features to self-discipline and emotion management. This study, conversely, reveals that the relationship can be explained by looking deeper into these three elements.

Whilst, mainstream research has made reference to issues concerning *compliance, conformity and resistance*, it has nonetheless, neglected to extensively examine the connection of these aspects to self-discipline and emotion management. This study, however, reveals that the crossover can be explained from a conformity point of view.

Even though, a considerable amount of research has discussed the importance of *rationality and corrective action*, it has however, failed to broadly explore the connection of these aspects to self-discipline and emotion management. On the contrary,

this study reveals that rationality and corrective action are important factors that can influence the crossover.

While considerable has been written on *emotional labour and the management of emotions*, research has nonetheless, neglected to expand on the role of these factors on the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. This study, however, reveals that emotional labour can affect the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management.

Existing research has neglected to take into consideration the association between self-discipline and *emotional exhaustion*. This study reveals the role of emotional exhaustion in self-discipline and emotion management.

Although, the majority of research has discussed the significance of *society, responsibility and accountability*, it has nevertheless, failed to expand on the role of these elements in the connection between self-discipline and emotion management. This dissertation provides new information on the influence of these three elements on the crossover.

Whilst, mainstream research has discussed the issues of *subjectivity, internalisation and the self*, it has nonetheless, failed to expand on the importance of these elements in the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. The findings of this study help advance the current debate concerning the influence of these factors in the crossover.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

In this chapter, conclusions are drawn from the results of the fieldwork and recommendations are made for further investigation. The limitations and theoretical and managerial implications of the study are discussed.

The literature has neglected to take into consideration the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. This thesis sought to fill this gap by empirically examining what really happens when individuals accomplish self-discipline through emotion management, particularly in an EPM setting. A social constructionist perspective was adopted to study the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. This perspective is concerned with the lived experience and social dimension of self-discipline and emotional management (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Harré, 1991; Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). The conclusions drawn in this thesis are based on interpretations given by participants in the fieldwork study. An interpretivist approach was used to understand how individuals working under EPM express and ascribe meaning to their emotional experiences. The answers given by the interviewees were considered as social products produced by them in the context of specific socio-cultural locations. The study addressed the complex relationships between different aspects of the surveillance system, the disciplinary environment and emotional labour. Hence, the interpretation of the findings was in line with the social constructionist approach adopted.

The main research question of this thesis addressed what takes place emotionally when organizational members discipline themselves and how they manage their emotions in an EPM environment? It is concluded that the intersection between self-discipline and

emotion management lies in six main themes: control, power and discipline; compliance, conformity and resistance; rationality, performance standards and corrective action; emotional labour and the management of emotions; society, responsibility and accountability; and subjectivity, internalisation and the self. These main themes and their respective subcategories emerged from the interview data and are supported by the literature. This thesis has discussed how the findings of the study relate to the existing literature, how the literature can be mobilised to explain the findings, and how the theory itself is modified and expanded by this study.

7.1 Summary of Findings

With regard to the first theme, the study has revealed that control, power and discipline help explain the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. The EPM systems put into practice are utilised in such a way so as to control the emotions of call centre agents. Agents are prompted to remember about the system leading them to discipline themselves. While working under electronic monitoring, they use their inner strength to admit their faults, with the goal of minimising errors in the call centre. The system coerces them by putting them under pressure.

The electronic monitoring practices used in the call centre influence agents to feel a sense of awareness. They are continuously attentive in order to avoid mistakes. Agents feel anxious of disturbing the efficiency of the call centre as well as job insecure. EPM forces agents to feel and act according to the commands of the system without putting in danger their image. They entrench in their thoughts the need to discipline and manage their emotions. Agents have a tendency to discipline feelings of annoyance and frustration when talking to offensive callers. Knowing that the system can detect their

mistakes, they are frightened of reprimands. They have to exercise self-discipline because the laws of the system dictate what emotions they should express. They follow the instructions of the electronic monitoring system to avoid negative consequences.

This form of intimidation is linked to discipline. Call centre agents are affected by what is happening to others around them. EPM builds a context which is grounded on disciplinary principles. Agents are compelled by the system to self-control their emotions. They are constrained to act courteously and to follow the guidelines of emotional labour.

The electronic monitoring systems force agents to adapt to the standards of the call centre. They impulsively behave suitably because they have been taught to act according to the norms of EPM. EPM has made discipline part of the call centre context. The EPM systems utilized in the call centre exert discipline over a group of call centre agents concurrently. The disciplinary message is received by everybody, and supervisors hinge profoundly on EPM to keep the working environment under control.

Some call centre agents, however, do not feel that they are disciplined by EPM, challenging the literature which claims that surveillance will constantly influence people to experience self-control. They believe that the system helps them to overcome problems and improve in their work. This indicates a necessity for caution when discussing the connection between EPM and discipline.

In terms of the second theme, the study helped fill the gap regarding the role of conformity in self-discipline. In the majority of the times, EPM forces call centre agents to use their disciplinary skills to conform to the environment. They are concerned that they will be reprimanded in case they go against the status quo. Agents are required to

submit to the EPM rubrics and manage their emotions. This method of obedience and conformism is allied with self-discipline. Employees are mostly disciplined according to their compliance with the EPM norms.

Call centre agents stated that they exercise self-discipline to circumvent the manifestation of undesirable reactions. Particularly, being aware that the system monitors their discussions, they discipline their emotions to meet the terms of the setting. They would like to swear back to callers but they discipline themselves. Electronic monitoring forces agents to obey to the rules of the system by keeping focused on their work and being well-mannered all the time. The awareness of agents that the electronic system can notify supervisors about their errors, leads them to discipline their communication. This discipline of expression leads to the management of explicit emotions such as anger and fear.

Call centre agents keep quiet so that their behaviour will not be misinterpreted. Through compliance and conformity, they manage their expressions by self-disciplining their negative feelings. They consider this process to be a form of defense to protect themselves from verbal abuse. They bury their feelings and avoid answering back. They accept the rules of the EPM system by complying with the norms of the environment.

Call centre agents envision the ways in which undesirable responses will be understood by colleagues, supervisors and customers. They attempt to evade unsolicited expressions in advance. They comply with the cultural rules of the call centre. This compliance leads them to employ self-discipline defense mechanisms.

Some call centre agents may also resist when working under EPM. They have difficulties silencing themselves for long periods of time. A number of agents

acknowledge that they are incapable of incessantly disciplining adverse emotions, causing them to struggle against the system. This demonstrates that agents want to bring out their undesirable emotions. They do not have the ability to repeatedly fake their emotions. These agents are not submissive. On the contrary, they repel being controlled by such practices. They protect themselves when they are in opposition towards EPM, and guard themselves, mainly their discretion. Nevertheless, the findings show that self-discipline is more closely interconnected to compliance and conformity rather than resistance. While resisting, individuals may not have the strength to exercise self-discipline.

The third theme demonstrates the significant role of rationality and corrective action in the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. EPM necessitates agents to feel and act in an articulate way in the call centre. EPM expects them always to behave in the most apposite manner to evade discomfiture or retribution. Individuals strive to achieve perfection in order to satisfy the system, while supervisors use the supremacy of EPM to create a disciplined environment, ensuring that all agents follow the same instructions. EPM embeds in the minds of call centre agents the importance of not disturbing the smooth operations of the department.

Agents are conditioned by the EPM system to work reflexively. The setting is built chiefly on disciplinary ideologies, and every person is instructed to correct irrational behaviour. They acquire the knowledge to conduct themselves sensibly, becoming part of the call centre milieu. The system ensures uniformity and embeds in agents' minds the importance of following rules and regulations.

Agents are careful not to say or do anything wrong. They do this by hiding their emotions and eliminating behaviours that are considered inappropriate by others. Through self-discipline they use their rationality to correct their mistakes without anybody telling them.

There is a constant preoccupation with self-correction. Call centre agents contemplate about the existence of electronic monitoring and its possible consequences. They implant rules of behaviour in their thoughts, merely conveying emotions which are perceived as adequate. Whilst there is a tendency to forget about electronic monitoring, reprimands remind them once again about its power.

The emotions of call centre agents working under EPM tend to change. They learn to follow the norms of the system and get used to dealing with difficult situations. The system conditions them to anticipate and avoid mistakes, and to exercise self-correction. The disciplinary apparatus forces individuals to correct themselves when errors are made.

With regard to the fourth theme, the study has explained the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management from an emotional labour perspective. The information given by call centre agents revealed that they manage their emotions while working. The rudeness of callers most frequently causes call centre agents to manage their emotions, but because their supervisors listen to their calls, they force themselves to remain calm and to hide their true feelings. They disguise their irritation and express emotions that other people expect to see. They exercise self-discipline by eluding interruptions and focusing on their job. The electronic monitoring systems force call centre agents close their real feelings within themselves and be respectful at all times.

They endeavor to present their selves in a proficient manner, and they tend to counterfeit their emotions when interacting with others.

Call centre agents embed within themselves the norm of regulating their emotional reactions. This causes them to surface act by playing roles that others expect to see and hear. They contain inappropriate emotions and merely disclose those viewed fitting to the rules of the EPM surroundings. They acquire the knowledge to follow display norms, not communicate adverse emotions and express deference to other people.

This concealment of feelings is rendered possible by disciplining themselves. Call centre agents exercise self-discipline by avoiding distractions and concentrating on their work. However, they experience emotional dissonance because they exhibit emotions that are not the same as the ones they truly sense.

This thesis helped fill the gap regarding the role of self-discipline in emotional exhaustion. It has found out that self-discipline plays an important part in the experience of emotional exhaustion. Particularly, agents have to utilize to a great extent their conceptual resources to cope with other people in the EPM environment. A small number of call centre agents may not be strong enough to discipline their emotional responses. It is difficult for them to listen to and cope mentally with verbal abuse, and it is perceptually difficult because they have to satisfy other people around them and make efforts to discipline their negative emotions. They sometimes feel emotionally exhausted as a result of holding back their true emotions.

In terms of the fifth theme, the study has revealed that the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management can be elucidated in terms of the socio-cultural environment of the call centre. More specifically, the emotions that call centre agents

manage are rooted in the electronic monitoring environment. Employees hold certain beliefs, and may form attitudes to organisational monitoring and surveillance based on these beliefs. The findings of the study demonstrate that the connection between self-discipline and emotion management is affected by socio-power elements. It is evident that the environment of call centre agents is based on social factors and plays a role in the experience of self-discipline and emotion management. They are required by EPM to follow the directions of the setting. They have to satisfy the expectations of people within their surroundings. Agents control their emotions in an EPM cultural environment because they feel morally obliged to do so.

Individuals exercise self-discipline and emotion management for the purpose of meeting own and other people's anticipations, and agents working under electronic monitoring are concerned about other people's views of them. They scrutinize their personal behaviour and try not to dissatisfy other people in their surroundings. They try to imitate the behaviours of their colleagues in order to become part of the group, which aids them familiarize sooner to the disciplinary standards of EPM. The cultural group norms, social values and means used to organise and manage their work influence their reactions to the system.

Agents manage their emotional reactions so as to avoid being stigmatised in the call centre environment. They feel that it is morally unacceptable to behave inappropriately in the call centre. They are taught to follow behavioural rules and to feel morally responsible for their attitudes towards others. The moral values communicated by society also influence the ways in which they perceive EPM. Individuals follow the moral values embedded by society and make choices which they feel are suitable. The

reactions of people working under electronic monitoring are affected by their degree of moral contemplation of the system.

When agents' mistakes are made visible to their colleagues in the call centre, they feel isolated, withdrawn and detached from other people in the call centre environment. The system forces agents to feel accountable for their behaviour. They are overtaken by a feeling of personal and group obligation. The ethical morals of the social order entrench feelings of culpability inside of them. They learn to sense what is proper and what is not. They do not want to fail the people within their group; therefore, they display emotions that are not truly felt. They discipline themselves to react in ways that will not hurt others and will avoid misunderstandings. EPM trains call centre agents to feel guilty for their mistakes and liable for improving their own performance.

Regarding the sixth theme, the study has explained the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management by probing the subjective dimension of individuals working under EPM. Particularly, call centre agents are confronted by their own sense of "self". The EPM system forces them to accept their mistakes by scrutinising themselves. They exercise self-management as a form of defense to protect their "inner selves" from verbal abuse.

The thesis helped fill the gap in the literature regarding the role of rational awareness in self-discipline. The researcher found out that sometimes agents working under electronic monitoring may not coherently experience self-discipline. Some individuals might react knowingly towards EPM. The majority of agents were not conscious of the fact that they exercise self-discipline. They involuntarily control their feelings when disciplining themselves. Call centre agents do not sense that they are affected by EPM.

They mechanically teach their selves to become accustomed to the process of self-discipline as demanded by the EPM context, and learn to discipline and manage their emotions automatically. The management of emotions is profoundly ingrained in the inner sphere of individuals. Call centre agents are not cognizant that the social order affects their emotions because they have internalised the call centre's norms of behavior. Therefore, as they attempt to control their feelings, they reflexively manage their selves and interiorise surveillance. Self-discipline is an instinctive process, embedded in their subjectivity and activated on impulse.

Self-discipline is part of call centre agents' conscience. Their conscience tells them that they should be working without error according to the speed and rules of the system. Their inner thoughts and feelings guide them to work according to standards and to avoid any inappropriate behaviours. They are not mindful that they are disciplining themselves. The EPM system conditions them to subjectively exercise self-discipline and emotion management.

This thesis also helped fill the gap concerning the role of "internalisation" in the experience of self-discipline. Particularly, surveillance exerts a type of discipline which forces individuals to mechanically internalise the norms of the system. Call centre agents engage in emotional labour through internalisation. Society plays a major role in the experience of internalisation and is momentous in elucidating the changeover from self-discipline to emotion management. The subjectivity of individuals impulsively stimulates "proper" emotions that have been internalised previously by society and the organisation. They control their subjective by not answering back and internalising their feelings. Call centre agents unconsciously incorporate the cultural values, motives and

beliefs of the EPM context through learning, socialisation and identification. Self-discipline becomes part of individual subjectivity. They make subjective the rules of the electronic monitoring system. Hence, internalisation is the medium in which self-discipline is used to crossover to emotion management and consequently to emotional labour.

7.2 Limitations of the Study

Whilst the qualitative methodology used in this study has provided a number of benefits, such as a more in-depth examination of issues and the flexibility to probe more deeply into the subjectivity of respondents, this study has limitations. For example, the nature of qualitative studies means there may be a possibility of interviewer or interpreter bias. The author nonetheless acknowledges the influence of his own personal and social experiences whilst writing this thesis. As with other qualitative researchers, the author inevitably drew on his own knowledge and understanding of the emotional experiences of the call centre agents. Indeed, his views about emotions may have been shaped by the writings of others and his social context, as well as the accounts given by the interviewees during the study. Unfortunately, this is a problem faced by most qualitative researchers.

7.3 Recommendations for Future Research

Whilst, this thesis has revealed significant information concerning the relationship between self-discipline and emotion management, there is nevertheless great potential for further investigation. The findings of the study highlight several aspects which would benefit from further research. Research in the area may utilize the findings of this thesis to carry on the examination in greater depth. This study may serve as a stepping

stone to larger-scale studies which may yield more knowledge in the given area. The findings alert us to the fact that there is a need to look more deeply into a variety of aspects concerning the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management.

More specifically, future research can independently examine the impact of elements studied in this thesis such as power, discipline, rationality, corrective action, society, responsibility, accountability and conformity. For example, study exclusively the importance of accountability in the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. This way, more specific information can be collected with regards to each of these facets.

Moreover, this thesis has touched upon the prominence of internalisation in the embedness of the EPM disciplinary norms as well as the implications of self-discipline in emotional exhaustion. The data indicate that there is a need to examine further the issue of EPM awareness, for example to explore whether people exercise self-discipline consciously or unconsciously. Upcoming research can study more in depth the role of these issues.

In addition, more qualitative studies can be carried out to increase our understanding concerning the subjectivity of individuals working under different types of electronic monitoring devices (e.g. CCTV, vehicle tracking devices, check-in/check-out systems). Perhaps comparisons could be drawn to assess the differences of each device in terms of self-discipline and emotion management.

Moreover, a longitudinal study, observing someone new and examining how he/she self-disciplines under EPM on an everyday basis over a length of time, may provide greater knowledge regarding the crossover to emotion management.

Future research needs to also examine the emotional variations between different types of individuals exercising self-discipline under EPM, taking into consideration factors such as age, gender, work experience and status. Possibly, young people experience EPM differently than old people. Perhaps, men exercise self-discipline in diverse ways than women. Potentially, employees with more work experience under such systems discipline their emotions inversely than employees with less work experience. Conceivably, people who occupy high level positions exercise self-discipline in dissimilar ways than people who work at the lower levels of the hierarchy.

7.4 Contributions of this Research

The literature on EPM and call centres has left a significant gap in the theory regarding the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management. This thesis, on the contrary, offers significant theoretical contributions which revolve around the relationship between surveillance-induced self-discipline and emotional labour over time. The study has *empirically* revealed what really happens when individuals accomplish self-discipline through emotion management, particularly in an EPM setting. In contrast to the majority of research, this study has used a qualitative framework to probe more effectively into the subjectivity of individuals working under EPM, examining in greater depth the subjective thoughts and feelings of people exercising self-discipline and emotion management.

The findings of the study help advance the debate by exposing new information. Particularly, this study has revealed that the relationship between self-discipline and emotion management can be explained by looking deeper into issues such as *control, power and discipline*. Moreover, the study has argues that *rationality* and *corrective*

action are important factors that can influence the crossover. In addition, this dissertation has revealed significant information concerning the influence of *society, responsibility and accountability*. The theory is also expanded by this study because it has revealed empirical evidence concerning the relationship between self-discipline and *conformity*.

Unlike most of the literature, it found out that individuals working under EPM may not always realize that they discipline themselves. Many individuals discipline themselves yet they are *not* aware of it. They do not reflect on the disciplinary process. Most of the times they *unconsciously* discipline their emotional reactions due to the social dynamics of the EPM environment. Moreover, the theory is expanded by this study in that it has revealed that the issue of *internalisation* plays a key role in the embedness of the EPM disciplinary norms. Individuals unconsciously use internalisation as the medium to crossover to the management of emotions. As a result, this process leads them to exercise effective emotional labour. Furthermore, the theory is expanded by this study because it argues that self-discipline may play a role in emotional exhaustion. Call centre agents may not always have as much strength as others to discipline their emotional reactions.

Managerial contributions and implications for practice

This thesis also makes important managerial contributions and provides suggestions in how the findings can assist businesses. The attention paid in this study to the crossover between self-discipline and emotion management will help inspire the interest of various types of organistions (public and private) in advancing their knowledge regarding the implementation of EPM practices. Particularly, this thesis can help manufacturing (e.g.

factories) and service organizations (e.g. hotels, banks etc.) utilize electronic monitoring more effectively. Many companies are not yet aware about the importance of self-discipline in their everyday operations. This thesis will help firms take into account the negative characteristics of self-discipline, thus making it easier for employees to acclimatize to the technological system. Moreover, the findings of studies such as this may alert people to previously unknown problems concerning EPM, prompting them to make changes. For example, businesses can put into effect EPM which will help employees adapt without difficulty to these systems. New information about these two issues in an electronic monitoring environment may help managers rethink the use of EPM, particularly when dealing with new employees and managing employee turnover, absenteeism and low productivity. Managers can make changes to their use of this technology in order to overcome complications when installing and using this technological system in the workplace.

Bibliography

Abraham, R., 1998. Emotional dissonance in organizations: Antecedents, consequences and moderators. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, 124, 229-46.

Adelman, P.K., 1995. Emotional labor as a potential source of job stress. In S.L. Sauter and L.R. Murphy (eds), *Organizational Risk Factors for Job Stress*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Agre, P., 1994. Surveillance and capture: Two models of privacy. *The Information Society*, 10(2), 101-27.

Aiello, J.R., 1993. Computer based work monitoring. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23(7), 499-601.

Aiello, J.R., DeNisi, A., Kirkhoff, K., Shao, Y., Lund, M.A. and Chomiak, AA.., 1991. The impact of feedback and individual/group computer monitoring on work effort. Paper present at the Third Annual Convention of the American Psychological Society, Washington, DC.

Aiello, J.R. and Kolb, K.J., 1995a. Electronic performance monitoring and social context: Impact on productivity and stress. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 80(3), 339-53.

Aiello, J.R. and Kolb, K.J., 1995b. Electronic performance monitoring: A risk factor for workplace stress. In S. Sauter and L. Murphy (eds), *Organizational Risk Factors for Job Stress*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, pp. 163-79.

Aiello, J.R. and Shao, Y., 1993. Electronic performance monitoring and stress: The role of feedback and goal setting. In M.J. Smith and G. Salvendy (eds), *Human-Computer Interaction: Applications and Case Studies*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, pp. 1011-16.

Aiello, J.R. and Svec, C.M., 1993. Computer monitoring of work performance: Social facilitation and electronic presence. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 23, 537-48.

Alder, G.S., 1998. Ethical issues in electronic performance monitoring: A consideration of deontological and teleological perspectives. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 17(7), 729-43.

Alder, G.S., 2001. Employee reactions to electronic performance monitoring: A consequence of organizational culture. *The Journal of High Technology Management Research*, 12(2), pp. 323-42.

Alder, G.S. and Ambrose, M.L., 2005. An examination of the effect of computerized performance monitoring feedback on monitoring fairness, performance, and satisfaction. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 97, 161-77.

Alder, G.S., Ambrose, M.L. and Noel, T.W., 2006. The effect of formal advanced notice and justification on internet monitoring fairness: Much ado about nothing? *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, 13, 93-108.

Alder, G.S. and Tompkins, P.K., 1997. Electronic performance monitoring: An organizational justice and concertive control perspective. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 10(3), 259-88.

Ambrose, M.L. and Alder, G.S., 2000. Designing, implementing, and utilizing computerized performance monitoring: Enhancing organizational justice. In G.R. Ferris (ed.), *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 18. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 187-219.

American Management Association (AMA), 2001. *AMA Survey: Workplace Monitoring and Surveillance*. New York: AMA.

Amick, B.C. and Ostberg, O., 1987. Office automation, occupational stress and health: A literature analysis with specific attention to expert systems. *Office Technology and People*, 4(2), 191-210.

Amick, B.C. and Smith, M.J., 1992. Stress, computer-based work monitoring and measurement systems: A conceptual overview. *Applied Ergonomics*, 23(1), 6-16.

Arkin, A., 1997. Hold the production line. *People Management*, 6(3), 22-7.

Ashforth, B.E. and Humphrey, R.H., 1993. Emotional labor in service roles: The influence of identity. *Academy of Management Review*, 181, 88-115.

Ashforth, B.E., Kreiner, G.E. and Fugate, M., 2000. All in a day's work: Boundaries and micro role transitions. *Academy of Management Review*, 25, 472-91.

Atran, S., Medin, D.L. and Ross, N.O., 2005. The cultural mind: Environmental decision making and cultural modeling within and across populations. *Psychological Review*, 112, 744-66

Attewell, P., 1987. Big brother and the sweatshop: Computer surveillance in the automated office. *Sociological Theory*, 5(1), 87-100.

Auerbach, C.F. and Silverstein, L.B., 2003. *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis*. New York: New York University Press.

Bain, P. and Taylor, P., 2000. Entrapped by the 'electronic panopticon'? Worker resistance in the call centre. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 15(1):2-18.

Bain, P., Watson, A., Mulvey, G. and Gall, G., 2002. Taylorism, targets and the pursuit of quantity and quality by call centre management. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 17(3), 154-69.

Ball, K., 2001. Situating workplace surveillance: Ethics and computer based performance monitoring. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 3(3), 211-23.

Ball, K., 2002. Elements of surveillance: A new framework and future directions. *Information, Communication and Society*, 5(4), 573-90.

Ball, K., 2005. Organization, surveillance and the body. *Organization*, 12(1), 89-108.

Ball, K., 2009. Exposure: Exploring the subject of surveillance Information. *Communication and Society*, 12(5), 639-57.

Ball, K., 2010. Data protection in the outsourced call centre: An exploratory case study. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 20(3), 294-310.

Ball, K., 2010. Workplace surveillance: An overview. *Labor History*, 51(1), 87-106.

Ball, K., Daniel, E. and Stride C., 2012. Dimensions of employee privacy: An empirical study. *Information, Technology and People*, 25(4), 376-94.

Ball, K., Haggerty, K. and Lyon, D. (eds), 2012. *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London: Routledge.

Ball, K. and Margulis, S.T., 2011. Monitoring and surveillance in call centres: A review and synthesis. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 26(2), 113-26.

Ball, K. and Wilson, D., 2000. Power, control and computer based performance monitoring: Subjectivities, repertoires and resistance. *Organization Studies*, 21(5), 536-65.

Bandura, A., 1982. Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American Psychologist*, 37, 122-47.

Barker, J.R., 1993. Tightening the iron cage: Concertive control in self managing teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38(3), 408-37.

Barrell, T., 2000. *The Business of Change* [videorecording]. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Available at: <http://www.abc.net.au/ 4corners/s168558.htm>.

Bates R.A., 2004. A critical analysis of evaluation practice: The Kirkpatrick model and the principle of beneficence. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 27, 341-47.

Bates, R. and Holton, E., 1995. Computerized performance monitoring: A review of human resource issues. *Human Resource Management Review*, 5(4), pp. 267-88.

Batt, R., 1999. Work organization, technology and performance in customer service and sales. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 52(4), 539-64.

Batt, R. and Moynihan, L., 2002. The variability of alternative call centre production models. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 12(4), 587-97.

Baumeister, R.F., Bratslavsky, E., Muraven, M. and Tice, D.M., 1998. Ego depletion: Is the active self a limited resource? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1152-65.

Baumgartner, M., Good, K. and Udris, I., 2002. *Call Centers in der Schweiz. Psychologische Untersuchungen in 14 Organisationen* [Call Centres in Switzerland: Psychological Investigations in 14 Organisations]. Zurich: Institut für Arbeitspsychologie.

Bazeley, P., 2012. Reliability measures [Online forum comment]. *Methodspace*, 23 April. Available at: http://www.methodspace.com/group/qualitativeinquiry/forum/topics/reliability-measures [accessed 14 September 2014].

Becker, H., 2003. The politics of presentation: Goffman and total institutions. *Symbolic Interaction*, 26(4), 659-60.

Bell, J., 1993. *Doing your Research Project: A Guide for First Time Researchers in Education and Social Science*, 2nd edition. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Belt, V., Richardson, R. and Webster, J., 1999. Smiling down the phone: Women's work in telephone call centres. Workshop on Call Centres, March 1999, London School of Economics.

Beniger, J., 1986. *The Control Revolution: Technical and Economic Origins of the Information Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bentham, J., 1843. *Collected Works*. London: John Bowring.

Berger, A., Kofman, O., Livneh, U. and Henik, A., 2007. Multidisciplinary perspectives on attention and the development of self-regulation. *Progress in Neurobiology*, 82(5), 256-86.

Bertaux, D., 1981. From the life-history approach to the transformation of sociological practice. In D. Bertaux (ed.), *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*. London: Sage, pp. 29-45.

Best, R.G., Downey, R.G. and Jones, R.G., 1997. Incumbent perceptions of emotional work requirements. Paper presented at the 12th annual meeting of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, St.Louis, Missouri.

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C. and Tight, M., 1996. *How to Research*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bogard, W., 2012. Simulation and post-panopticism. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty and D. Lyon (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 30-7.

Bond, F. and Bunce, D., 2003. The role of acceptance and job control in mental health, job satisfaction, and work performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(6), 1057-67.

Botan, C. and Vorvoreanu, M., 2005. What do employees think about electronic surveillance at work? In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp 123-44.

Boudens, C., 2005. The story of work: A narrative analysis of workplace emotion. *Organization Studies*, 26, 1285-306.

Boyne, R., 2000. Post panopticism. *Economy and Society*, 29(2), 285-307.

Bradburn, N.M., 1969. *The Structure of Psychological Well-Being*. Chicago: Aldine.

Brannan, J., 2005. Once more with feeling: Ethnographic reflections on the mediation of tension in a small team of call centre workers. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 12(5), 420-39.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V., 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101.

Braverman, H., 1974. *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Breckenridge, J., 2007. The strategy of terrorism and the psychology of mass-mediated fear. In B. Bonger, L.M. Brown, L.E. Beutler, J.N. Breckenridge, and P.G. Zimbardo (eds), *Psychology of Terrorism*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 116-33.

Brewer, N., 1995. The effects of monitoring of individual and group performance on the distribution of effort across tasks. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 25, 760-77.

Brewer, N. and Ridgeway, T., 1998. Effects of supervisory monitoring on productivity and quality of performance. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 4, 211-27.

Brey, P., 1999. Worker Autonomy and the Drama of Digital Networks in Organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *22*(1), 15-25.

Briner, R., 1999. Introduction. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8(3), 321-22.

Briner, R., 2005. What can research into emotion at work tell us about researching well-being at work? *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion*, 1(1), 67-73.

Brotheridge, C. and Gandey, A., 2002. Emotional labor and burnout: Comparing two perspectives of 'people work'. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 60, 17-39.

Brotheridge, C.M. and Lee, R.T., 1998. On the dimensionality of emotional labour: Development and validation of the Emotional Labour Scale. Paper presented at the First Conference on Emotions in Organizational Life, San Diego, CA.

Brotheridge, C.M. and Lee, R.T., 2003. Development and validation of the emotional labour scale. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 76, 365-79.

Bryant, S., 1995. Electronic Surveillance in the Workplace. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 20(4), 505-21.

Bryman, A, 1989. *Research Methods and Organization Studies*. London: Routledge.

Bryman, A., 2001. *Social Research Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Buchanan, D, 1999. The logic of political action: an experiment with the epistemology of the particular. *British Journal of Management*, 10, 573-588

Burawoy, M., 1979. *Manufacturing Consent*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Burgess, J. and Connell, J. (eds), 2006. *Developments in the Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Policy and Challenges*. New York: Taylor and Francis.

Burkitt, I., 1997. Social relationships and emotions. *Sociology*, 31(1), 37-55.

Burrell, G., 1998. Modernism, postmodernism and organizational analysis: The contribution of Michel Foucault. In A. McKinlay and K. Starkey, *Foucault, Management and Organizational Theory*. London: Sage, pp. 14-28.

Callaghan, G., 2002. Call centres: The latest industrial office? Paper presented at the 20th Annual International Labour Process Conference, University of Strathclyde, 2-4 April.

Callaghan, G. and Thompson, P., 2001. Edwards revisited: Technical control and call centres. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 22(1), 13-37.

Callaghan, G. and Thompson, P., 2002. We recruit attitude: The selection and shaping of routine call centre labour. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(2), 233-54.

Carayon, P., 1993. Effects of electronic performance monitoring on job design and worker stress: Review of the literature and conceptual model. *Human Factors*, 35, 385-95.

Carayon, P., 1994. Effects of electronic performance monitoring on job design and worker stress: Results of two studies. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, 6, 177-90.

Carroll, W., 2007. Electronic monitoring in the workplace: A review and discussion about future trends. *The Workplace Review*, 4(2), 3-7.

Carton, A. and Aiello, J., 2009. Control and anticipation of social interruptions: Reduced stress and improved task performance. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 39(1), 169-85.

Cavendish, R., 1982. *Women on the Line*. London: Routledge.

Chalykoff, J. and Kochan, T.A., 1989. Computer-aided monitoring: Its influence on employee job satisfaction and turnover. *Personnel Psychology*, 43(4), 807-34.

Chapman, R.S., 2006. Language learning in Down syndrome: The speech and language profile compared to adolescents with cognitive impairment of unknown origin. *Down Syndrome: Research & Practice*, 10, 61-6.

Charlesworth, A., 2003. Opinion: Privacy, personal information and employment. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(2), 217-22.

Charmaz, K., 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cherns, A., 1987. Principles of socio-technical design revisited. *Human Relations*, 40, 153-62.

Clarke, A., 2005. *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Clarke, S., 2005. Informed consent and electronic monitoring in the workplace. In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp. 227-41.

Clegg, S., 1998. Foucault, power and organisations. In A. McKinlay and K. Starkey (eds), *Foucault, Management and Organizational Theory*. London: Sage, pp. 29-48.

Clergeau, C., 2005. ICTs and knowledge codification: Lessons from front office call centres. *Knowledge and Process Management*, 12(4), 247-58.

Coleman, S., 2005. Universal human rights and employee privacy: Questioning employer monitoring of computer usage. In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey PA: Idea Group, pp. 276-95.

Cook, S. and Yanow, 1996. Culture and organizational learning. In M. Cohen and L. Sproull, *Orgnisational Learning, Thousand*. Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 430-59

Coovert, M D. and Thompson, L.F., 2003. Technology and workplace health. In J.C. Quick and L.E. Tetrick (eds), *Handbook of Occupational Health Psychology*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, pp. 221-42.

Creswell, J., 1998. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Critchfield, T. and Vargas, E. (1991). Self-recording, instructions and public self-graphing: Effects on swimming in the absence of coach verbal interaction. *Behavior Modification,* 15, 95-112.

Cropanzano, R. and Greenberg, J., 1997. Progress in organizational justice: Tunneling through the maze. In C.L. Cooper and I.T. Robertson (eds), *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*. New York: Wiley, pp.317-72.

D'Alessio, N. and Oberbeck, H., 2002. Call centres as organisational crystallisation of new labour relations, working conditions and a new service culture? In U. Holtgrewe, C. Kerst and K.A. and Shire (eds), *Re-Organising Service Work. Call Centres in Germany and Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 86-101.

Dandeker, C., 1990. *Surveillance, Power and Modernity: Bureacracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Danielson, P., 2005. Ethics of workplace surveillance games. In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp. 19-34.

Datamonitor, 2003a. *Offshore Call Centre Positions Growing, Despite Perceived Risks*. London: Datamonitor. Available at: http://dbic.datamonitor.com/ [accessed 2 December 2004].

Datamonitor, 2003b. *Indian Call Centres: Cracks Begin to Show*. London: Datamonitor. Available at: http://dbic.datamonitor.com/ [accessed 2 December 2004].

Datamonitor, 2004. *Call Centres in the United Kingdom: Industry Profile*. London: Datamonitor.

Datamonitor, 1998. *Call Centres in Europe*. London: Datamonitor.

Day, R. and Hamblin, R.L., 1964. Some effects of close and punitive styles on supervision. *American Journal of Sociology*, 69, 499-510.

Deery, S., Iverson, R. and Walsh, J., 2002. Work relationships in telephone call centres: Understanding emotional exhaustion and employee withdrawal. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(4), 471-96.

Deery, S. and Kinnie, N., 2002. Call centres and beyond: A thematic evaluation. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 12(4), 3-13.

Deery, S. and Kinnie, N., 2004. Call centres and Human resource management: a cross national perspective. In J. Burgess and J. Connel, *Developments in the Call Centre Sector*. Routledge

Deetz, S., 1998. Discursive formation, strategized subordination and self-surveillance. In A. Mckinlay and K. Starkey (eds), *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory: From Panopticon to Technologies of Self*. London: Sage, pp. 151-72.

Denzin, N., 1988. *Interpretive Biography*. London: Sage.

Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y., 2000. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Deutsch-Salamon, S. and Robinson, S., 2002. Does trust deter organizational deviance? An organizational level analysis. Paper presented at the 2002 meeting of the Academy of Management, Denver, Colorado.

Di Domenico, M.L. and Ball, K., 2011. An hotel inspector calls: Exploring surveillance at the home-work interface. *Organization*, 18(5), 615-36

Diefendorff, J.M. and Richard, E.M., 2003. Antecedents and consequences of emotional display rule perceptions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88, 284-94.

Ditton, J., 1977. *Part-time Crime: An Ethnography of Fiddling and Pilferage*. London: Macmillan.

Donald, I., 2001. Emotion and offices at work. In R. Payne and C. Cooper (eds), *Emotion at Work: Theory, Research and Applications for Management*. Chichester: John Wiley and Son.

Donmoyer, R., 2000. Generalisability and the single-case study. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley and P. Foster (eds), *Case Study Method*. London: Sage, pp. 45-68.

Dormann, C., Zapf, D. and Isic, A., 2002. Emotionale Arbeitsanforderungen und ihre Konsequenzen bei Call Center-Arbeitsplätzen. [Emotional demands and consequences in call center work.] *Zeitschrift für Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie*, 46, 201-15.

Dormann, C. and Zijlstra, F., 2010. Call centres: High on technology, high on emotion. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 12(4), 305-10.

Douthitt, E.A. and Aiello, J.R., 2000. The impact of computer monitoring and negative affectivity on task performance and satisfaction. *Proceedings of the 2000 Annual Conference of the Academy of Management*, pp. M1-M6.

Durbin, S., 2012. Gender, skills and careers in UK call centres. In J. Burgess and J. Connel, *Developments in the Call Centre Sector*. Routledge

Dupré, K.E. and Barling, J., 2002. The roles of control, justice and organizational sanctions in the prediction and prevention of workplace aggression directed at supervisors. Manuscript.

Eckermann, L., 1997. Foucault, embodiment and gendered subjectivities: The case of voluntary self-starvation. In A. Petersen and R. Bunton, *Foucault, Health and Medicine.* New York: Routledge, pp. 151-69.

Eddy, E., Stone, D. and Stone-Romero, E., 1999. The effects of information management policies on reactions to human resource information systems: An integration of privacy and procedural justice perspectives. *Personnel Psychology*, 52, 335-58.

Edwards, D., 1997. *Discourse and Cognition*. London: Sage.

Edwards, D., 1999. Emotion discourse. *Culture and Psychology*, 5(3), 271-91.

Edwards, D. and Potter, J., 1992. *Discursive Psychology*. London: Sage.

Edwards, P.K., 2001. Discipline: Towards trust and self-discipline? In S. Bach and K. Sisson (eds), *Personnel Management: A Comprehensive Guide to Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 317-37.

Edwards, R.C., 1979. *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century*. London: Heinemann.

Eisenman, E., 1986. Employee perceptions and supervisory behaviors in clerical VDT work on systems that allow electronic monitoring. In OTA, 1987, *The Electronic Supervisor: New Technology, New Tensions*, Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Elden, S., 2003. Plague, panopticon, police. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3), 240-53.

Ellis, V. and Taylor, P., 2006. 'You don't know what you've got til it's gone': Re-contextualising the origins, development and impact of the call centre. *New Technology, Work and Employment* ,21(2), 107-22.

Elmer, G., 2012. Panopticon – discipline – control. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty and D. Lyon (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 21-9.

Erickson, R.J. and Wharton, A.S., 1997. Inauthenticity and depression: Assessing the consequences of interactive service work. *Work and Occupations*, 24 (2), 188-213.

Evison, R., 2001. Helping individuals manage emotional responses. In R. Payne and C. Cooper, *Emotions at Work*: *Theory, Research and Applications in Management*. Chichester: Wiley, pp. 241-68.

Feldman, M., 2000. Organisational routines as a source of continuous change. *Organisational Science*, 11, 611-29

Fenner, D.B., Lerch, F.J. and Kulik, C.T., 1993. The impact of computerized monitoring and prior performance knowledge on performance evaluation. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 23(7), 573-601.

Fernie, S. and Metcalf, D., 1998. (Not) hanging on the telephone: Payment systems in the new sweatshops. Paper 390, Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics.

Filby, M.P., 1992. The figures, the personalities, and the bums: Service work and sexuality. *Work, Employment and Society*, 6(1), 23-42.

Findlay, P. and McKinlay, A., 2003. Surveillance, electronic communications technologies and regulation. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 34, 305-18.

Fineman, S., 2007. *Understanding Emotion at Work*. London: Sage Publications.

Flick, U., 1995. Social representations. In R. Harré, J. Smith, and L. Van Langenhove, *Rethinking Psychology*. London: Sage, pp. 70-96.

Flick, U., 1996. *Psychologie des technisierten Alltags: Soziale Konstruktion und Repräsentation technischen Wandels in verschiedenen kulturellen Kontexten*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Flick, U., 2000. Episodic interviewing. In W. Bauer and G. Gaskell, *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook for Social Research*. London: Sage, pp. 75-92.

Flick, U., 2002. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research,* 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Foucault, M., 1979. *Discipline and Punish*. London and New York: Vintage.

Fox, S., 1989. The panopticon: From Bentham's obsession to the revolution of management learning. *Human Relations*, 42(8), 719-39.

Frenkel, S. and Donoghue, L., 1996. Call centres and service excellence. CCC Paper No. 066, Sydney, Australian Graduate School of Management, University of New South Wales.

Frenkel, S., Korczynski, M., Shire, K. and Tam, M., 1999. *On the Front Line: Organisation of Work in the Information Economy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Frenkel, S., Tam, M., Korzynski, M and Shire, K., 1998. Beyond bureaucracy? Work organisation in call centres. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 9(6), 957-79.

Frese, M. and Zapf, D., 1994. Action as the core of work psychology: A German approach. In H.C. Triandis, M.D. Dunnette and L.M. Hough (eds), *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, Vol. 4. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Press, pp. 271-340.

Freud, S., 1946. *The Ego and The Mechanisms of Defense*. New York: International universities press.

Gabb, J., 2009. Researching family relationships: a qualitative mixed methods approach. *Methodological Innovations Online*, 4(2), 37-52.

Gandy, O., 1993. *The Panoptic Sort: A Political Economy of Personal Information*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Ganster, D.C. and Schaubroeck, J., 1995. The moderating effect of self-esteem on the work stress–employee health relationship. In R. Crandall and P. Perrewe (eds), *Occupational Stress: A Handbook*, 2nd edition. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, pp. 167-77.

Gerring. J., 2006. *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Glaser, B.G. and Holton, J., 2004. Remodeling grounded theory. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 5(2), Art. 4.

Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L., 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

Glomb, T.M., Kammeyer-Mueller, J.D. and Rotundo, M., 2004. Emotional labor demands and compensating wage differentials. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89, 700-14.

Glomb, T.M. and Tews, M.J., 2004. Emotional labor: A conceptualization and scale development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 64, 1-23.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Goldberg, D. and Williams, P., 1991. *A User's Guide to the General Health Questionnaire.* Slough: NFER-Nelson.

Goldberg, L.S. and Grandey, A.A., 2007. Display rules versus display autonomy: emotion regulation, emotional exhaustion, and task performance in a call center simulation. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 12(3), 301-18.

Goldberger, L. and Breznitz, S., 1993. *The Handbook of Stress*. New York: Free Press.

Goleman, D., 1998. *Working with Emotional Intelligence*. New York: Bantam Books.

Golembiewski, R.T. and Munzenrider, R.F., 1984. Active and passive reactions to psychological burnout. *Journal of Health and Human Resources Administration*, 1, 264-89.

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M. and Foster, P., 2000. *Case Study Method*. London: Sage.

Gordon, L., 1989. Institutional and impulsive orientations in selectively appropriating emotions to self. In D.D. Franks and D. McCarthy (eds), *The Sociology of Emotions: Original Essays and Research Papers.* Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 115-36.

Gordon, S., 1991. The socialization of children's emotions: Emotional culture, competence and exposure. In C. Saarni and P.L. Harris, *Children's Understanding of Emotion*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 319-49.

Grandey, A., 1998. Emotional labor: A concept and its correlates. Paper presented at the First Conference on Emotions in Organizational Life, San Diego, CA.

Grandey, A., 2000. Emotion regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5, 59-100.

Grandey, A. and Brauburger, A., 2002. The emotion regulation behind the customer service smile. In R. Lord, R. Klimoski and R. Kanfer, *Emotions in the Workplace: Understanding the Structure and Role of Emotions in Organizational Behavior*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 260-94.

Granovetter, M., 1985. Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), 481-510.

Grant, A. and Sumanth, J., 2009. Mission impossible? The performance of prosocially motivated employees depends on manager trustworthiness. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(4), 927-44.

Grant, R.A. and Higgins, C.A., 1989. Monitoring service workers via computer: The effects of employees, productivity, and service. *National Productivity Review*, 8(2), 101-112.

Grant, R.A., Higgins, C.A. and Irving, R.H., 1988. Computerized performance monitors: Are they costing you customers? *Sloan Management Review*, 29, 39-45.

Gray, E.K. and Watson, D., 2001. Emotion, mood and temperament: Similarities, differences and a synthesis. In R. Payne and C. Cooper (eds), *Emotions at Work*: *Theory, Research and Applications in Management*. Chichester: John Wiley and Son, pp. 21-43.

Gray, M., 2003. Urban surveillance and panopticism: Will we recognize the facial recognition society? *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3), 314-30.

Grebner, S., Elferingand, A. and Semmer, K., 2010. The success resource model of job stress, In D.C. Ganster and P.L. Perrewe (eds), *New Developments in Theoretical and Conceptual Approaches to Job Stress Research in Occupational Stressand Well-Being*, Vol. 8. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Grebner, S., Semmer, N., de Faso, L., Gut, S., Kälin, W. and Elfering, A., 2003. Working conditions, well-being and job related attitudes among call center agents. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 12(4), 341-65.

Green, J. and Thorogood, N., 2009. *Qualitative Methods for Health Research*, 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Griffin, A. and Hauser, J., 1993. The voice of the customer. *Marketing Science*, 12(1), 1-27.

Griffiths, M., 1995. *Feminisms and the Self: The Web of Identity*. London: Routledge.

Gross, J., 1998. The emerging field of emotion regulation: An integrative review. *Review of General Psychology*, 2(3), 271-99.

Grosz, E., 1994. *Volatile Bodies*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin.

Grusec, J., 2011. Socialization processes in the family: Social and emotional development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 62, 243-69.

Guest, G., Bunce, A. and Johnson, L., 2006. How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59-82.

Hacker, W., 1998. *Allgemeine Arbeitspsychologie* [General Work Psychology]. Bern: Huber.

Hacking, I., 1986. Self-improvement. In D.C. Hoy (ed.), *Foucault: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 235-40.

Hacking, I., 1990. *The Taming of Chance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hacking, I., 1982. Biopower and the avalanche of printed numbers. *Humanities in Society*, 5, 279-295.

Haggerty, K., 2006. Tear down the walls: On demolishing the panopticon. In D. Lyon (ed.), *Theorizing Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond*. Cullompton: Willan, pp. 23-45.

Hakim, C., 1982. *Secondary Analysis in Social Research: A Guide to Data Sources and Methods with Examples*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Hales, T., Sauter, S., Peterson, M., Fine, L., Putz Anderson, V., Schliefer, L., Ochs, T. and Bernard, B., 1994. Musculoskeletal disorders among visual display terminal users in a telecommunications company. *Ergonomics*, 37, 1603-21.

Hamel, J., 1993. *Case Study Methods*. Newbury Park, CA. Sage.

Hannah, M., 1997. Space and the structuring of disciplinary power: An interpretive review. *Geografiska Annaler*, 79B, 171-80.

Hanninen, K., 2007. Perspectives on the narrative construction of emotions. *Elore*, 14(1), 1-9.

Harper, R.H.R., 1995. Why people do and don't wear active badges: A case study. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, 4(4), 297-318.

Harré, R. (ed.), 1986. *The Social Construction of Emotions*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harré, R., 1991. *Physical Being: A Theory for a Corporeal Psychology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Harré, R. and Gillet, G., 1994. *The Discursive Mind*. London: Sage.

Hayes, S.C., 1987. A contextual approach to therapeutic change. In N. Jacobson (ed.), *Psychotherapists in Clinical Practice: Cognitive and Behavioral Perspectives*. New York: Guilford Press, pp. 327-87.

Hayes, S.C., Wilson, K.G., Gifford, E.V., Follette, V.M. and Strosahl, K., 1996. Emotional avoidance and behavioral disorders: A functional dimensional approach to diagnosis and treatment. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 64, 1152-68.

Helten, F. and Fischer, B., 2004. Reactive attention: Video surveillance in Berlin shopping malls. *Surveillance and Society*, 2(2), 323-45.

Henderson, R., Mahar, D., Saliba, A., Deane, F. and Napier, R., 1998. Electronic monitoring systems: An examination of physiological activity and task

performance within a simulated keystroke security and electronic performance monitoring system. *Computer Studies*, 48, 143-57.

Henriques, V.E., 1986. Computer monitoring: Boon to employee and manager? *Computerworld*, 20, 17.

Henry, P., 1983. The family therapy profession: University and institute perspective. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Purdue University, West Lafayette.

Herriot, P., 2001. Future work and its emotional implications. In R. Payne and C. Cooper (eds), *Emotions at Work*: *Theory*, *Research and Applications in Management*. Chichester: John Wiley and Son.

Higgins, C. and Grant, R., 1989. Monitoring service workers via the computer: The effect on employees, productivity and service. *National Productivity Review*, 8(2), 101-112

Hingst, R., 2006. Perceptions of working life in call centres. *Journal of Management Practice*, 7(1), 1-9.

Hochschild, A., 1979. Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85, 551-75.

Hochschild, A., 1983. *The Managed Heart*. Berkeley: University of California.

Hofer, M., 2007. Goal conflicts and self-regulation: A new look at pupils' off-task behaviour in the classroom. *Educational Research Review*, 2, 28-38.

Holdaway, S., 1983. *Inside the British Police*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Holman, D.J., 2002. Employee wellbeing in call centres. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 12(4), 35-50.

Holman, D.J., 2003. Phoning in sick? An overview of employee stress in call centres. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, 24(3), 123-30.

Holman, D.J., 2005. Call centres. In D. Holman, T.D. Wall, C.W. Clegg, P. Sparrow and A. Howard (eds), *The Essentials of the New Workplace: A Guide to the Human Impact of Modern Working Practices*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 111-31.

Holman, D.J., Batt, R. and Holtgrewe, U., 2007. *The Global Call Center Report: International Perspectives on Management and Employment*. Global Call Center Project.

Holman, D.J., Chissick, C. and Totterdell, P., 2002. The effects of performance monitoring on emotional labor and wellbeing in call centers. *Motivation and Emotion*, 26(1), 57-81.

Holman, D. and Wall, T., 2002. Work characteristics, learning-related outcomes, and strain: A test of competing direct effects, mediated, and moderated models. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 7(4), 283-301.

Holman, D.J. and Wood, S., 2003. The new workplace: An introduction. In D. Holman, T.D. Wall, C.W. Clegg, P. Sparrow and A. Howard (eds), *The Essentials of the New Workplace: A Guide to the Human Impact of Modern Working Practices*. Chichester: Wiley, pp. 3-15.

Holtgrewe, U., 2003. Call-Center-Forschung: Ergebnisse und Theorien. In F. Kleemann and I. Matuschek (eds), *Immer Anschluss unter dieser Nummer: Rationalisierte Dienstleistung und Subjektivierte Arbeit in Call Centern*. Berlin: Sigma, pp. 49-61.

Holtgrewe, U and Kerst, C., 2002. Researching call centres: Gathering results and theory. Paper presented at the Annual International Labour Process Conference, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, 2-4 April.

Holtgrewe, U., Kerst, C. and Shire, K.A. (eds), 2002. *Re-Organizing Service Work: Call Centres in Germany and Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Holton, J., 2007. The coding process and its challenges. In A. Bryant and K. Charmaz (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*. London: Sage, pp. 265-89.

Hopper, T. and Macintosh, N., 1998. Management, accounting, numbers: Freedom or prison, Geneen versus Foucault. In A. McKinlay and K. Starkey (eds), *Foucault, Management and Organizational Theory*. London: Sage, pp. 126-51.

Hoppock, R., 1935. *Job Satisfaction*. New York: Harper.

Hoskin, K. and Macve, R., 1994. Reappraising the genesis of managerialism: A re-examination of the role of accounting at the Springfield Armory, 1815–45. *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal*, 7(2), 4-29.

Houlihan, M., 2000. Eyes wide shut: Querying the depth of call centre learning. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 24(2/3/4), 228-40.

Houlihan, M., 2001. Managing to manage? Stories from the call centre floor. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 25(2), 112-13.

Houlihan, M., 2002. Tensions and variation in call centre management strategies. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 12(4), 67-85.

Houlihan, M., 2006. Agency and constraint: Call centre managers talk about their work. In J. Burgess and J. Connell (eds), *Developments in the Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Policy and Challenges*. New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 152-69.

Huczynski, A. and Buchanan, D., 2007. *Organisational Behaviour*. New York: Macmillan.

Iles, P. and Salaman, G., 1994. Recruitment, selection and assessment. In J. Storey (ed.), *Human Resource Management: A Critical Text.* London: Roudedge, pp. 203-33.

Incoming Calls Management Institute (ICMI), 2002. *Call Center Monitoring Study II: Final Report*. Annapolis, MD: Call Center Press.

International Labour Organization (ILO), 1993. Workers' privacy, Part II: Monitoring and surveillance in the workplace. *Conditions of Work Digest*, 12(2).

Introna, L., 2003. Workplace surveillance is unethical and unfair. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(2), 210-16.

Irving, R.H., Higgins, C.A. and Safayeni, F.R., 1986. Computerized performance monitoring systems: Use and abuse. *Communications of the ACM*, 29, 794-801.

Isen, A. and Baron, R., 1991. Positive affect as a factor in organizational behaviour. In B. Staw and L. Cummings, *Research in Organizational Behaviour*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 1-53.

Isic, A., Dormann, C. and Zapf, D., 1999. Belastungen und Ressourcen an Call Center-Arbeitsplätzen [Job stressors and resources among call center employees]. *Zeitschrift für Arbeitswissenschaft*, 53, 202-8.

Jackendoff, R., 2009. Parallels and nonparallels between language and music. *Music Perception*, 26(3), 195-204.

James, N., 1989. Emotional labor: Skill and work in the social regulation of feelings. *Sociological Review*, 37, 15-42.

Johnson, N., 2009. The role of self and emotion within qualitative sensitive research: A reflective account. *ENQUIRE*, 4, 23-50.

Johnston, A., and Cheng, M., 2002. Electronic surveillance in the workplace: Concerns for employees and challenges for privacy advocates. Paper delivered at the International Conference on Personal Data Protection, Seoul, Korea, 28 November.

Kanfer, R. and Kantrowitz, T., 2002. Emotion regulation: Command and control of emotion in work life. In R. Lord, R. Klimoski and R. Kanfer (eds), *Emotions in the Workplace: Understanding the Structure and Role of Emotions in Organizational Behavior*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 433-72.

Kaye, R. and Little, S.E., 1996. Global business and cross-cultural information systems: Technical and institutional dimensions of diffusion. *Information Technology & People*, 9(3), 30-54.

Keashly, L., Trott, V. and MacLean, L.M, 1994. Abusive behavior in the workplace: A preliminary investigation. *Violence and Victims*, 9(4), 341-57.

Kedia, B.L. and Bhagat, R.S., 1988. Cultural constraints on transfer of technology across nations: Implications for research in international and comparative management. *Academy of Management Review*, 13(4), 459-571.

Kelvin, P., 1973. A social-psychological examination of privacy. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 12, 248-61.

Kidwell, R. and Bennett, N., 1994. Employee reactions to electronic control systems. *Group and Organization Management*, 19, 203-18.

Kinnie, N., Hutchinson, S. and Purcell, J., 2000. Fun and surveillance: The paradox of high commitment management in call centres. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 11, 5, 967-985.

Kitay, J. and Callus, R., 1998. The role and challenge of case study design in industrial relations research. In K. Whitfield and G. Strauss (eds), *Researching the World of Work: Strategies and Methods in Studying Industrial Relations*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 101-12.

Kizza, J. and Ssanyu, J., 2005. Workplace surveillance. In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp. 1-18.

Knights, D. and McCabe, D., 1998. Dreams and designs on strategy: A critical analysis of TQM and management control. *Work Employment and Society*, 12(3), 433-56.

Knights, D., 1990. Subjectivity, power and the labour process. In Knights, D. and Wilmott, H. (eds), *Labour Process Theory*. London: Macmilan pp. 2-18.

Kolb, K. and Aiello, J., 1996. The effects of electronic performance monitoring on stress: Locus of control as a moderator variable. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 12(3), 407-23.

Korczynsk, M., 2002. *Human Resource Management in Service Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Kornhauser, A. and Sharp, A., 1932. Employee attitudes: Suggestions from a study in a factory. *Personnel Journal*, 10, 393-404.

Koskela, H., 2003. 'Cam era': The contemporary urban panopticon. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3), 292-313.

Koskela, H., 2012. You shouldn't wear that body: The problematic of surveillance and gender. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty and D. Lyon (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 49-56.

Koskina, A., 2006. How Taylorised is call centre work? The sphere of customer practice in Greece. In J. Burgess and J. Connell (eds), *Developments in the Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Policy and Challenges*. New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 170-88.

Kruml, S. and Geddes, D., 1998. Exploring the dimensions of emotional labour: The heart of Hochchild's work. Paper presented at the First Conference of Emotions in Organizational Life, San Diego, CA.

Kulik, C. and Ambrose, M., 1991. Category-based versus feature-based processes in performance appraisal: Integrating visual and computerised performance data. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(5), 821-30.

Kushner, T., 2003. Meaning nothing but good: Ethics, history and asylum-seeker phobia in Britain. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 37(3), 257-76.

Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (eds), 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Larsen, R., Diener, E. and Lucas, R., 2002. Emotion: Models, measures, and individual differences. In R. Lord, R. Klimoski and R. Kanfer, *Emotions in the Workplace: Understanding the Structure and Role of Emotions in Organizational Behavior*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 64-106.

Larson, J. and Callahan, C., 1990. Performance monitoring: How it affects work productivity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 530-38.

LeBlanc, M.M. and Barling, J., 2004. Workplace aggression. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 13(1), 9-12.

Leiter, M., 1993. Burnout as a developmental process: Consideration of models. In W. Schaufeli, C. Maslach and T. Marek (eds), *Professional Burnout: Recent Developments in Theory and Research*. Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis.

Leiter, M.P. and Maslach, C., 1988. The impact of interpersonal environment on burnout and organizational commitment. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 9, 297-308.

Leventhal, G.S., 1980. What should be done with equity theory? New approaches to the study of fairness in social relationships. In K. Gergen, M. Greenberg and R. Willis (eds), *Social Exchange: Advances in Theory and Research*. New York: Plenum, pp. 27-55.

Lewig, K. and Dollard, M., 2003. Emotional dissonance, emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction in call centre workers. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 12(4), 366-92.

Lindgren, A. and Sederblad, P., 2006. Escaping the electronic birdcage. In J. Burgess and J. Connell (eds), *Developments in the Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Policy and Challenges*. New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 189-98.

Lord, R. and Harvey, J., 2002. An information processing framework for emotional regulation. In R. Lord, R. Klimoski and R. Kanfer, *Emotions in the Workplace: Understanding the Structure and Role of Emotions in Organizational Behavior*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 115-46.

Lund, J., 1989. Computerized work performance monitoring systems, office workers and industrial relations outcomes. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Lund, J., 1991. Computerized work performance monitoring and production standards: A review of labor law issues. *Labour Law Journal*, 43(4), 195-203.

Lund, J., 1992. Electronic performance monitoring: A review of research issues. *Applied Ergonomics*, 23(1), 54-8.

Lupton, D., 1998. *The Emotional Self*. London: Sage.

Lutz, C., 1985. Depression and the translation of emotional worlds. In A.Kleinman and B. Good, *Culture and Depression: Studies in the Anthropology and Cross-Cultural Psychiatry of Affect and Disorder*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 63-100.

Lyon, D., 1994. *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society*. London and New York: Polity.

Lyon, D., 2001. *Surveillance Society: Monitoring Everyday Life*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Lyon, D., 2007. *Surveillance Studies: An Overview*. New York: Polity Press.

Lyon, D., Haggerty, K. and Ball, K., 2012. Introducing surveillance studies. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty and D. Lyon (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-12.

Lyon, D. and Zureik, E., 1996. *Computers, Surveillance and Privacy. Minneapolis*: University of Minnesota Press.

MacDermid, S.M., Seery, B.L. and Weiss, H.M., 2002. An emotional examination of the work-family interface. In R. Lord, R. Klimoski and R. Kanfer (eds), *Emotions in the Workplace: Understanding the Structure and Role of Emotions in Organizational Behavior*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 402-27

Mann, S., 1999. Emotion at work: To what extent are we expressing, suppressing or faking it? *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8(3), 347-69.

Mann, S., Fung, J., Federman, M. and Baccanico, G., 2003. Panopdecon: Deconstructing, decontaminating, and decontextualising panopticism in the postcyborg era. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3), 375-98.

Marsella, A., 1994. The measurement of emotional reactions to work: Conceptual, methodological and research issues. *Work & Stress: An International Journal of Work, Health & Organisations*, 8(2), 153-76.

Marshall, J.N. and Richardson R., 1996. The impact of 'telemediated' services on corporate structures: The example of branchless retail banking in Britain. *Environment and Planning A*, 28, 1843-58.

Marshall, M., 1996. Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), 522-5.

Marx, G., 2002. What's new about the 'new surveillance'? Classifying for change and continuity. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(1), 9-29.

Mason, D., Lankshear, G., Button, G. and Coates, S., 2002. On the poverty of a priorism: Technology, surveillance in the workplace and employee responses. *Information, Comnmunication and Society*, 5(4), 555-73.

Mason, M., 2010. Sample size and saturation in PhD studies: Using qualitative interviews. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11(3), Art. 8.

McCahill, M., 2002. *The Surveillance Web: The Rise of CCTV in an English City*. Cullompton: Willan.

McCutcheon, D.M. and Meredith, J.R., 1993. Conducting case study research in operations management. *Journal of Operations Management*, 11(3), 239-56.

McGrath, J., 2004. *Loving Big Brother: Performance, Privacy and Surveillance Space*. London: Routledge.

McKinlay, A., 2002. The limits of knowledge management. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 17(2), 76-88.

McKinlay, A. and Taylor, P., 1996. Power, surveillance and resistance: Inside the factory of the future. In P. Ackers, C. Smith and P. Smith (eds), *The New Workplace and Trade Unionism*. Abingdon: Routledge.

McNall, L. and Roch, S.G., 2009. Reactions to electronic performance monitoring: Antecedents and consequences of interpersonal and informational justice. *Human Performance*, 22, 204-24.

Mehrabian, A., 1995. Framework for a comprehensive description and measurement of emotional states. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, 121(3), 339-61.

Meissner, W., 1981. *Internalization in Psychoanalysis*. New York: International Universities Press.

Miles, M. and Huberman, A., 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. London: Sage.

Mintzberg, H., 1973. *The Nature of Managerial Work*. New York: Harper and Row

Mirchandani, K., 2005. Webs of resistance in transnational call centres: Strategic agents, service providers and customers. In R. Thomas, A.J. Mills and J.H. Mills (eds), *Identity Politics at Work: Resisting Gender, Gendering Resistance*. London: Routledge, pp. 149-63.

Mohr, L., 1982. *Explaining Organisational Behaviour*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Moltzen, K. and Van Dick, R., 2002. Arbeitsrelevante Einstellungen bei Call Center-Agenten: Ein Vergleich unterschiedlicher Call Center-Typen [Work-related

attitudes among call center agents: A comparison of different types of call centers]. *Zeitschrift für Personalpsychologie*, 1(4), 161-70.

Moore, B. and Fine, B., 1990. *Psychoanalytic Terms and Concepts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Moorman, R. and Wells, D., 2003. Can electronic performance monitoring be fair? Exploring the relationships among monitoring characteristics, perceived fairness and job performance. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, 10(2), 2-16.

Morris, J. and Feldman, D., 1996. The dimensions, antecedents, and consequences of emotional labor. *Academy of Management Review*, 21, 986-1010.

Morris, J. and Feldman, D., 1997. Managing emotions in the workplace. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 9, 257-74.

Moscovici, S., 1973. *Foreword, in Herzlich, Health and Illness: A Social Psychological Analysis*. London: Academic press

Mulholland, K., 2004. 'Slammin', scammin', smokin' an' leavin'': Resistance in Irish call centres to new forms of direct control. *Work, Employment and Society*, 18(4), 709-24.

Murakami Wood, D. and Ball, K., 2013. Brandscapes of control: Subjects and space in late capitalism. *Marketing Theory*, 13(1), 47-67.

Neuman, L., 2000. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 4th ed. New York: Allyn and Bacon

Nebeker, D., 1987. Automated monitoring, feedback and rewards: Effects on workstation operator's performance, satisfaction and stress. In H. Bullinger and B. Shackel (eds), *HCI Interact '87*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Nebeker, D. and Tatum, B., 1993. The effects of computer monitoring, standards and rewards on work performance, job satisfaction and stress. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 23, 508-36.

Nettleton, S., 1994. Inventing mouths: Disciplinary power and dentistry. In C. Jones and R. Porter (eds), *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*. London: Routledge, pp. 73-90.

Newton, T., 1994. Discourse and agency. The example of personnel psychology and 'assessment centres'. *Organisation Studies*, 15(6), 879-902.

Newton, T., 1995. *Managing Stress: Emotion and Power at Work*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Neyland, D., 2006. *Privacy, Surveillance and Public Trust*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Niehoff, B.P. and Moorman, R.H., 1993. Justice as a mediator of the relationship between methods of monitoring and organizational citizenship behavior. *Academy of Management Journal*, 36, 527-56.

Norris, C., 1997. *Surveillance, Order and Social Control*. Available at: http://archive.aclu.org/issues/privacy/CCTV_Norris.pdf [accessed 3 December 2003].

Norris, C. and Armstrong, G., 1999. *The Maximum Surveillance Society: The Rise of CCTV*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

North American Quitline Consortium (NAQC), 2010. Call center metrics: Fundamentals of call center staffing and technologies. NAQC Issue Paper.

Oatley, K. and Jenkins, J., 2001. *Understanding Emotions*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ogbonna, E. and Wilkinson, B., 1990. Corporate strategy and corporate culture: The view from the checkout. *Personnel Review*, 19(4), 9-15.

Olkkonen, M.-E. and Lipponen, J., 2006. Relationships between organizational justice, identification with organization and work unit, and group-related outcomes. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 100(2), 202-15.

Orr, J., 1996. *Talking About Machines*. New York: ILR Press/Cornel University Press

Oz, E., Glass, R. and Behling, R., 1999. Electronic workplace monitoring: What employees think. *Omega*, 27(2), pp. 167-77.

Panina, D. and Aiello, J., 2005. Acceptance of electronic monitoring and its consequences in different cultural contexts: A conceptual model. *Journal of International Management*, 11(2), 269-92.

Parsons, T., 1951. *The Social System*. New York: Routeledge,

Payne, R. and Cooper, C., 2001. *Emotions at Work*: *Theory, Research and Applications in Management*. Chichester: John Wiley and Son.

Pearson, C., 1991. An assessment of extrinsic feedback on participation, role perceptions, motivation and job satisfaction on a self-managed system for monitoring group achievement. *Human Relations*, 44, 517-37.

Peaucelle, J.-L., 2000. From Taylorism to post-Taylorism: Simultaneously pursuing several management objectives. *Journal of Organisational Change*, 13(5), 452-67.

Perkins, D., 2013. Electronic performance monitoring in call centers: An ethical decision model. *Electronic Journal of Business Ethics and Organization Studies*, 18(1), 4-14.

Petersen, J., 2007. *Understanding Surveillance Technologies*. New York: Auerbach Publications.

Pettigrew, A.M., 1985. *The Awakening Giant: Continuity and Change in Imperial Chemical Industries*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Picard, M., 1994. Working under an electronic thumb. *Training*, 31, 47-51.

Plutchik, R., 1994. *The Psychology and Biology of Emotion*. New York: Harper Collins.

Polkinghorne, D.E., 2005. Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 137-45.

Pollard, S., 1965. *The Genesis of Modem Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain*. London: Penguin Books.

Pollert, A., 1981. *Girls, Wives, Factory Lives*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Porter, S., 1996. Contra-Foucault: Soldiers, nurses and power. *Sociology*, 30(1), 59-78.

Poster, M., 1990. *The Mode of Information: Poststructuralism and Social Context*, 2nd edition. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Potter, J., 1996. Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: Theoretical background. In J. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*. Leicester: British Psychological Society, pp. 125-40.

Potter, J. and Edwards, D., 2001. Discursive social psychology. In P. Robinson and H. Giles, *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, pp.103-18.

Pugh, D., 2002. Emotional regulation in individuals and dyads: Causes, costs and consequences. In R. Lord, R. Klimoski and R. Kanfer, *Emotions in the Workplace: Understanding the Structure and Role of Emotions in Organizational Behavior*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 147-82.

Rafaeli, A. and Sutton, R.I., 1989. The expression of emotion in orgnisational life. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 11, 1-43.

Raven, B., 1993. The bases of power: Origins and recent developments. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49(4), 227-51.

Reed, A. and Aquino, K., 2003. Moral identity and the expanding circle of moral regard toward out-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 1270-86.

Reed, M., 1992. *The Sociology of Organisations*. London and New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Reed, M., 1999. 'From the cage to the gaze? The dynamics of organizational control in late modernity. In G. Morgan and L. Engwall (eds) *Regulation and Organizations: International Perspectives*. London: Routledge, pp. 27-49.

Remenyi, D., Williams, B., Money, A. and Swartz, E., 1998. *Doing Research in Business and Management*. London: Sage.

Richardson, H. and Howcroft, D., 2006. The contradictions in CRM: A lens on call centres. *Information and Organization*, 16(2), 143-68.

Richardson, R. and Marshall, J., 1996. The growth of telephone call centres in peripheral areas of Britain: Evidence from Tyne and Wear. *Area*, 28(3), 308-17.

Richardson, R., Belt, V. and Marshall, J., 2000. Taking calls to Newcastle: The regional implications of the growth in call centres. *Regional Studies*, 34(4), 357-70.

Robson, C., 2011. *Real World Research*. Chichester: Wiley.

Rollinson, D., Handley, J, Hook, C. and Foot, M., 1997. The disciplinary experience and its effects on behaviour: An exploratory study. *Work, Employment & Society*, 11(2), 283-311.

Rollinson, D., Hook, C., Foot, M. and Handley, J., 1996. Supervisor and manager styles in handling discipline and grievance: Part two – approaches to handling discipline and grievance. *Personnel Review*, 25(4), 38-55.

Rooksby, E. and Cica, N., 2005. Personal autonomy and electronic surveillance in the workplace. In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp.242-59.

Rose, E. and Wright, G., 2005. Satisfaction and dimensions of control among call centre CSRs. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 16(1), 136-60.

Rose, N., 1990. *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. London: Routledge.

Rudd, J. and Geller, E.S., 1989. Manipulating display and feedback parameters for enhanced data entry performance. *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Human Factors Society*, Santa Monica: HFS.

Rule, J.B., 1973. *Private Lives and Public Surveillance*. London: Allen Lane.

Rupp, D. E. and Spencer, S., 2006. When customers lash out: The effect of customer interactional injustice on emotional labor and the mediating role of discrete emotions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91, 971-78.

Russell, B., 2006. Skill and info-service work in Australian call centres. In J. Burgess and J. Connell (eds), *Developments in the Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Policy and Challenges*. New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 92-114.

Russell, B., 2007. 'You gotta lie to it': Software applications and the management of technological change in a call centre. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 22(2), 132-45.

Ruyter, J., Wetzels, M. and Feinberg, R., 2001. Role stress in call centers: The effects of role stress on performance and satisfaction. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 15(2), 23-45.

Saldaña, J., 2009. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. London: Sage.

Saldaña, J., 2013. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Saldana, J., 2011. *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research.* New York: OUP

Salovey, P., Woolery, A. and Mayer, J.D., 2001. Emotional intelligence: Conceptualization and measurement. In G. Fletcher and M. Clark (eds), *The Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology*. London: Blackwell, pp. 279-307.

Sarantakos, S., 2005. *Social Research*, 3rd edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Savage, M., 1998. Discipline, surveillance and the career: Employment on the Great Western Railway 1833-1914. In A. McKinlay and K. Starkey (eds), *Foucault, Management and Organizational Theory*. London: Sage, pp. 66-93.

Sawaf, A., Bloomfield, H. and Rosen, J., 2001. Inner technology: Emotions in the new millennium. In R. Payne and C. Cooper (eds), *Emotions at Work*: *Theory, Research and Applications in Management*. Chichester: John Wiley and Son, pp. 327-42.

Schafer, R., 1968. *Aspects of Internalization*. New York: International Universities Press.

Schaufeli, W.B. and Buunk, B.P., 2003. Burnout: An overview of 25 years of research in theorizing. In M.J. Schabracq, J.A.M. Winnubst and C.L. Cooper (eds), *The Handbook of Work and Health Psychology*. Chichester: Wiley, pp. 383-425.

Scherer, K.R. and Wallbott, H., 1990. Ausdruck von Emotionen [Expression of emotions]. In K. R. Scherer (ed.), *Enzyklopädie der Psychologie: Motivation und Emotion*. Göttingen: Hogrefe, pp. 345-422.

Schleifer, L.M., 1992. Electronic performance monitoring (EPM). *Applied Ergonomics*, 23(1), 4-5.

Schleifer, L., Galinsky, T. and Pan, C., 1996. Mood disturbances and musculoskeletal discomfort: Effects of electronic performance monitoring under different levels of data-entry performance. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, 8(4), 368-84.

Schleifer, L.M. and Shell, R.L., 1992. A review and reappraisal of electronic performance monitoring, performance standards and stress allowances. *Applied Ergonomics*, 23(1), 49-53.

Schramm, W., 1971. Notes on case studies for instructional media projects. Working paper for Academy of Educational Development, Washington, DC.

Schuler, H., 2000. Die Call Center der Zukunft: Vom Call Center zum multimedialen Kunden-Interaktions-Center [The call centre of the future: From the call centre to the multimedia customer interaction centre]. In H. Schuler and J. Pabst (eds), *Personalentwicklungim Call Center der Zukunft*. Neuwied, Germany: Luchterhand, pp. 1-11.

Schulman, A., 2001. *The Extent of Systematic Monitoring of Employee Email and Internet Use*. Workplace Surveillance Project, Privacy Foundation. Available at: http://www.sonic.net/~undoc/extent.htm [accessed 23 July 2006].

Sewell, G., 1998. The discipline of teams: The control of team-based industrial work through electronic and peer surveillance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 43(2), 397-428.

Sewell, G., 2012. Organisation, employees and surveillance. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty and D. Lyon (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 303-12.

Sewell, G. and Barker, J., 2006. Coercion versus care: Using irony to make sense of organizational surveillance. *Academy of Management Review*, 31(4), 934-61.

Sewell, G. and Barker, J.R., 2008. Performance measurement as surveillance: When (if ever) does 'measuring everything that moves' become oppressive? Unpublished manuscript, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Australia.

Sewell, G. and Wilkinson, B., 1992. Someone to watch over me: Surveillance, discipline and the Just-in Time labour process. *Sociology*, 26(2), 271-89.

Shell, R.L and Allgeier, R.G., 1992. A multi-level incentive model for service organisations. *Applied Ergonomics*, 23(1), 43-8.

Sherif, M. and Hovland, C., 1961. *Social Judgment: Assimilation and Contrast Effects in Communication and Attitude Change.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Silverman, D., 2000. *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage.

Simms, M., 1994. Defining privacy in employee health screening cases: Ethical ramifications concerning the employee/employer relationship, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 13(5), 315-25.

Simon, B., 2005. The return of panopticism: Supervision, subjection and the new surveillance. *Surveillance and Society*, 3(1), 1-20.

Simpson, R. (1985). Social control of occupations and work. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 11, 415-36.

Skarlicki, D., van Jaarsveld, D. and Walker, D., 2008. Getting even for customer mistreatment: The role of moral identity in the relationship between customer interpersonal injustice and employee sabotage. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 9(6), 1335-47.

Smelser, N.J. and Baltes, P.B. (eds), 2001. *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Smith, M. and Amick, B., 1989. Electronic monitoring in the workplace: Implications for job control and worker stress. In C. Cooper (ed.), *Job Control and Worker Health*. Chichester: Wiley.

Smith, M., Carayon, P. and Meizio, K., 1986. *Motivational, Behavioral and Psychological Implications of the Electronic Monitoring of Worker Performance*. Washington DC: US Congress, Office of Technology Assessment.

Smith, M., Carayon, P. and Sanders, K., 1992. Employee stress and health complaints in jobs with and without electronic performance monitoring. *Applied Ergonomics*, 23(1), 17-27.

Smith, M., Cohen, B. and Stammerjohn, L., 1981. An investigation of health complaints and job stress in video display operators. *Human Factors*, 23, 387-400.

Smith, M., Sanders, K., Lim, S. and LeGrande, D., 1992. Employee stress and health complaints in jobs with and without electronic performance monitoring. *Applied Ergonomics*, 23, 17-27.

Spitzmüller, C. and Stanton, J.M., 2006. Employee compliance and resistance with monitoring and surveillance policies and practices. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 78, 1-28.

Spitzmüller, C. and Stanton, J.M. (2006) Examining employee compliance with organizational surveillance and monitoring. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 79, 245-72.

Sprigg, C. and Jackson, P., 2006. Call centers as lean service environments: Job-related strain and the mediating role of work design. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 11(2), 197-212.

Sprigg, C., Stride, C., Wall, T., Holman, D. and Smith, P., 2007. Work characteristics, musculoskeletal disorders, and the mediating role of psychological strain: A study of call center employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(5), 1456-66.

Squires, A., 2009. Methodological challenges in cross-language qualitative research: A research review. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 46(2), 277-87.

Stahl, B., Prior, M., Wilford, S. and Collins, D., 2005. Electronic monitoring in the workplace: If people don't care, then what is the relevance? In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp 50-78.

Stake, R.E., 2000. The case study method in social inquiry. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersly and P. Foster (eds), *Case Study Methods*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 19-24.

Stalder, F., 2002. Opinion: Privacy is not the antidote to surveillance. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(1), 120-4.

Stanley, R. and Burrows, G., 2001. Varieties and functions of human emotion. In R. Payne and C. Cooper (eds), *Emotions at Work*: *Theory, Research and Applications in Management*. Chichester: John Wiley and Son, pp. 3-19.

Stanton, J., 2000. Reactions to employee performance monitoring: Frameworks, review, and research directions. *Human Performance*, 13(1), 85-113.

Stanton, J. and Barnes-Farrell, J., 1996. Effects of electronic performance monitoring on personal control, task satisfaction and task performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 81, 738-45.

Stanton, J. and Julian, L., 2002. The impact of electronic monitoring on quality and quantity of performance. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 18, 85-101.

Stanton, J. and Stam, K., 2003. Information technology, privacy, and power within organizations: A merger of boundary theory and social exchange perspectives. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(2), 152-90.

Stanton, J. and Stam, K., 2006. *The Visible Employee: Using Workplace Monitoring and Surveillance to Protect Information Assets – Without Compromising Employee Privacy and Trust*. Medford, NJ: Information Today Inc.

Stanton, J. and Weiss, E.M., 2000. Electronic monitoring in their own words: An exploratory study of employees' experiences with new types of surveillance. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, 16(4), 423-40.

Steinke, I., 2000. Gütekriterien qualitativer Forschung. In U. Flick, E.V. Kardorff and I. Steinke (eds), *Qualitative Forschung: Ein Handbuch*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, pp. 319-31.

Stone, E.F. and Stone, D.L., 1990. Privacy in organizations: Theoretical issues, research findings, and protection mechanisms. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management,* 8, pp. 349-411.

Stone-Romero, E., Stone, D. and Hyatt, D., 2003. Personnel selection procedures and invasion of privacy. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(2), 343-68.

Straub, D., Keil, M. and Brenner, W., 1997. Testing the technology acceptance model across cultures: A three country study. *Information and Management*, 31(1), 1-11.

Strauss, A., 1987. *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J., 1990. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Strauss, G. and Sayles, L., 1980. *Personnel: The Human Problems of Management.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Sturdy, A., 2003. Knowing the unknowable? A discussion of methodological and theoretical issues in emotion research and organizational studies. *Organization*, 10(1), 81-105.

Sumter, S., Bokhorst, C. and Westenberg, M., 2008. The robustness of the factor structure of the Self-Restraint Scale: What does self-restraint encompass? *Journal of Research in Personality,* 42, 1082-87.

Surveillance Studies Network, 2006. *A Report on the Surveillance Society*. Wilmslow: Information Commissioners office.

Tabor, P., 2001. I am a videocam. In I. Borden, J. Kerr, J. Rendell and A. Pivaro (eds), *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 122-37.

Taylor, A., Kuo, F. and Sullivan, W., 2002. Views of nature and self-discipline: Evidence from inner city children. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 22, 49-63.

Taylor, C., 1971. Interpretation and the sciences of man. *The Review of Metaphysics*, 25(1), 3-51.

Taylor, C. and Gibbs, G.R., 2010. How and what to code. *Online QDA* [website]. Available at: onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/Intro_QDA/how_what_to_code.php [accessed 14 September 2014].

Taylor, P. and Bain, P., 1999. 'An assembly line in the head': Work and employee relations in the call centre. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 30(2), 101-17.

Taylor, P. and Bain, P., 2001. Trade unions, workers' rights and the frontier of control in UK call centres. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 22(1), 39-66.

Taylor, P. and Bain, P., 2003. Subterranean worksick blues: Humour as subversion in two call centres. *Organization Studies*, 24, 1487-509.

Taylor, P. and Bain, P., 2006. Work organisation and employee relations in Indian call centres. In J. Burgess and J. Connell (eds), *Developments in the Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Policy and Challenges*. New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 36-57.

Taylor, S., 1998. Emotional labour and the new workplace. In P. Thompson and C. Warhurst (eds), *Workplaces of the Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 84-103.

Temple, G., 2008. Investigating language and identity in cross-language narratives. *Migration and Identities*, 1(1), 1-18.

Tepper, B.J., 2000. Consequences of abusive supervision. *Academy of Management Journal*, 4(2), 178-90.

Tepper, B.J., Duffy, M.K., Henle, C.A. and Schurer-Lambert, L., 2006. Procedural injustice, victim precipitation and abusive supervision. *Personnel Psychology*, 59, 101-23.

Thompson, P., 2003. Fantasy island: A labour process critique of the 'age of surveillance'. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(2), 138-51.

Thompson, P. and Ackroyd, S., 1995. All quiet on the workplace front? A critique of recent trends in British industrial sociology. *Sociology*, 29, 615-33.

Thompson, P. and McHugh, D., 1995. *Work Organisations: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Macmillan Business.

Thompson, P. and Warhurst, C., 1998. *Workplaces of the Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Thompson, R. and Meyer, S., 2007. *Socialisation of Emotion Regulation in the Family*. New York: Guilford Press.

Torrington, D. and Hall, L., 1995. *Personnel Management: HR in Action*, 3rd edition. London: Prentice Hall.

Totterdell, P. and Holman, D., 2003. Emotion regulation in customer service roles: Testing a model of emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 8(1), 55-73.

Townley, B., 1993. Foucault, power/knowledge and its relevance to human resource management. *Academy of Management Review*, 18(3), 518-45.

Townley, B., 1998. Beyond good and evil: Depth and division in the management of human resources, In A. McKinlay and K. Starkey (eds), *Managing Foucault*. London: Sage, pp 191-210.

Townsend, K., 2005. Electronic surveillance and cohesive teams: Room for resistance in an Australian call centre? *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 20(1) 47-59.

Tsoukas, H., 2009. Craving for generality and small-N studies: A Wittgensteinian approach towards the epistemology of the particular in organization and management studies. *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Research Methods*. London: Sage, pp. 285-301.

Tyler, M. and Abbott, P. 1998. Chocs Away: Weight Watching in the Contemporary Airline Industry. *Sociology*, 32, 433-450.

US Congress, Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), 1987. *The Electronic Supervisor: New Technology, New Tensions*, Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Valsecchi, R., 2006. Visible moves and invisible bodies: The case of teleworking in an Italian call centre. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 21(2), 123-38.

Van den Broek, D., 2003. Recruitment strategies and union exclusion in two Australian call centres. *Relations Industrielles /Industrial Relations*, 58(3), 515-36.

Van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H. and Deeg, D., 2010. Language differences in qualitative research: Is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing*, 7, 313-16.

Varca, P., 2006. Telephone surveillance in call centres: Prescriptions for reducing strain. *Managing Service Quality*, 2, 290-305.

Vaz, P. and Bruno, F., 2003. Types of self-surveillance: from abnormality to individuals 'at risk'. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3), 272-91.

Victor, B. and Cullen, J.B., 1988. The organizational bases of ethical work climates. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 33(1), 101-25.

Wallis, K. and Poulton, J., 2001. *Internalization*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Walrond-Skinner, S., 1986. *A Dictionary of Psychotherapy*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Warr, P.B., 1990. Decision latitude, job demands, and employee wellbeing. *Work and Stress*, 4, 285-94.

Warr, P.B., 1996. Employee well-being. In P. Warr (ed.), *Psychology at Work*. London: Penguin Books.

Warren, S.D. and Brandeis, LD.., 1890. The right to privacy. *Harvard Law Review*, 4(5), 193-220.

Weber, M., 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Webster, F. and Robins, K., 1993. 'I'll be watching you': Comment on Sewell and Wilkinson. *Sociology*, 27(2), 243-52.

Weckert, J., 2005. *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing.

Wegge, J., Van Dick, R., Fisher, G.K., West, M.A. and Dawson, J.F., 2006. A test of basic assumptions of affective events theory (AET) in call centre work. *British Journal of Management*, 17, 237-54.

Wegge, J., Van Dick., Fisher, G.K., Wecking, C. and Moltzen, K., 2006. Work motivation, organizational identification and well-being in call centre work. *Work and Stress*, 20(1), 60-83.

Wegge, J., Vogt, J. and Wecking, C., 2007. Customer-induced stress in call centre work: A comparison of audio- and videoconference. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 80, 693-712.

Weinkopf, C., 2006. German call centres between service orientation and efficiency: 'The polyphony of telephony'. In J. Burgess and J. Connell (eds), *Developments in the Call Centre Industry: Analysis, Policy and Challenges*. New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 58-74.

Weiss, H., 2002. Conceptual and empirical foundations for the study of affect at work. In R. Lord, R. Klimoski and R. Kanfer (eds), *Emotions in the Workplace:*

Understanding the Structure and Role of Emotions in Organizational Behavior. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 20-63.

Weiss, H. and Brief, A., 2001. Affect at work: A historical perspective. In R. Payne and C. Cooper, *Emotions at Work*: *Theory, Research and Applications in Management*. Chichester: Wiley, pp. 133-71.

Weiss, H. and Cropanzano, R., 1996. An affective events approach to job satisfaction. In B. Staw and L.L. Cummings, *Research in Organizational Behaviour: An Annual Series of Analytical Essays and Critical Reviews*, 18. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 1-74.

Weller, T., 2012. The information state: An historical perspective on surveillance. In K. Ball, K. Haggerty and D. Lyon (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. London: Routledge, pp. 57-63.

Weller, T. and Bawden, D., 2005. The social and technological origins of the information society: An analysis of the crisis of control in England, 1830-1890. *Journal of Documentation*, 61(6), 777-802.

Wells, D.L., Moorman, R.H. and Werner, J.M., 2007. The impact of the perceived purpose of electronic performance monitoring on an array of attitudinal variables. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 18(1), 121-38.

Westin, A., 1986. Privacy and quality of work life issues in employee monitoring. Contractor report prepared for the US Congress Office of Technology Assessment.

Westin, A., 1992. Two key factors that belong in a macroergonomic analysis of electronic monitoring: Employee perceptions of fairness and the climate of organizational trust or distrust. *Applied Ergonomics*, 23, 35-42.

Weston, C., Gandell, T., Beauchamp, J., McAlpine, L., Wiseman, C. and Beauchamp, C., 2001. Analyzing interview data: The development and evolution of a coding system. *Qualitative Sociology*, 24(3), 381-400.

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S., 2001. *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. London; Sage.

Wickham, J. and Collins, G., 2004. Call centres as innovation nurseries. *The Service Industries Journal*, 4(1), 1-18.

Wilk, S. and Moynihan, L., 2005. Display rule 'regulators': The relationship between supervisors and worker emotional exhaustion. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(5), 917-27.

Winiecki, D., 2004. Shadowboxing with data: Production of the subject in contemporary call centre organizations. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 19(2), 78-95.

Winiecki, D. and Wigman, B., 2007. Making and maintaining the subject in call centre work. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 22(2), 118-31.

Wray-Bliss, E., 2001. Representing Customer Service: Telephones and Texts. In A. Sturdy, I. Grugulis and H. Willmott (eds), *Customer Service: Empowerment and Entrapment*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 38-59.

Wren, D., 2004. *The History of Management Thought*, 5th edition. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Wright, T., 1992. *Workplace Privacy. A Consultation Paper*. Toronto, Ontario: Information and Privacy Commissioner.

Yar, M., 2003. Panoptic power and pathologisation of vision: Critical reflections on the Foucauldian thesis. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3), 254-71.

Yates, J., 1989. *Control through Communication: The Rise of American Management*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Yin, R., 1993. *Applications of Case Study Research*. Applied Social Research Series, 34. London: Sage.

Yin, R., 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yin, R., 2003. *Applications of Case Study Research*. London: Sage.

Yin R., 2009. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zapf, D., 2002. Emotion work and psychological wellbeing: A review of the literature and some conceptual considerations. *Human Resource Management Review*, 12, 237-68.

Zapf, D., Escartín, J., Einarsen, S., Hoel, H. and Vartia, M., 2010. Empirical findings on prevalence and risk groups of bullying in the workplace. In S. Einarsen, H. Hoel, D. Zapf and C. Cooper (eds), *Bullying and Harassment in the Workplace: Developments in Theory, Research, and Practice*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Zapf, D., Isic, A., Bechtoldt, M. and Blau, P., 2003. What is typical for call centre jobs? Job characteristics, and service interactions in different call centres. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 12(4), 311-40.

Zapf, D., Vogt, C., Seifert, C., Mertini, H. and Isic, A., 1999. Emotion work as a source of stress: The concept and the development of an instrument. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8, 371-400.

Zirkle, B. and Staples, W., 2005. Negotiating workplace surveillance. In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp. 79-100.

Zuboff, S., 1989. *In the Age of the Smart Machine: Future of Work and Power*. London and New York: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Zureik, E., 2004. *Appendix A: Overview of Public Opinion Research Regarding Privacy*. Queen's University

Zweig, D., 2005. Beyond privacy and fairness concerns: Examining psychological boundary violations as a consequence of electronic performance monitoring. In J. Weckert (ed.), *Electronic Monitoring in the Workplace: Controversies and Solutions*. Hershey, PA: Idea Group Publishing, pp 101-22.

Zweig, D. and Webster, J., 2002. Where is the line between benign and invasive? An examination of psychological barriers to the acceptance of awareness monitoring systems. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23(5), 605-33.

APPENDIX 1: Data analysis using ATLAS.ti

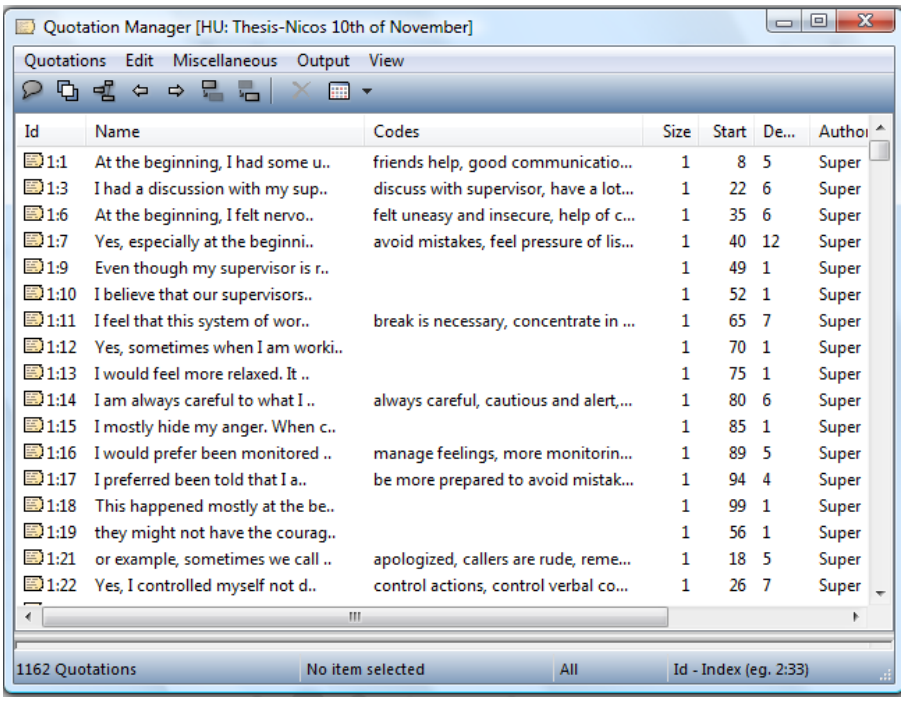


Illustration 1: Management of quotations

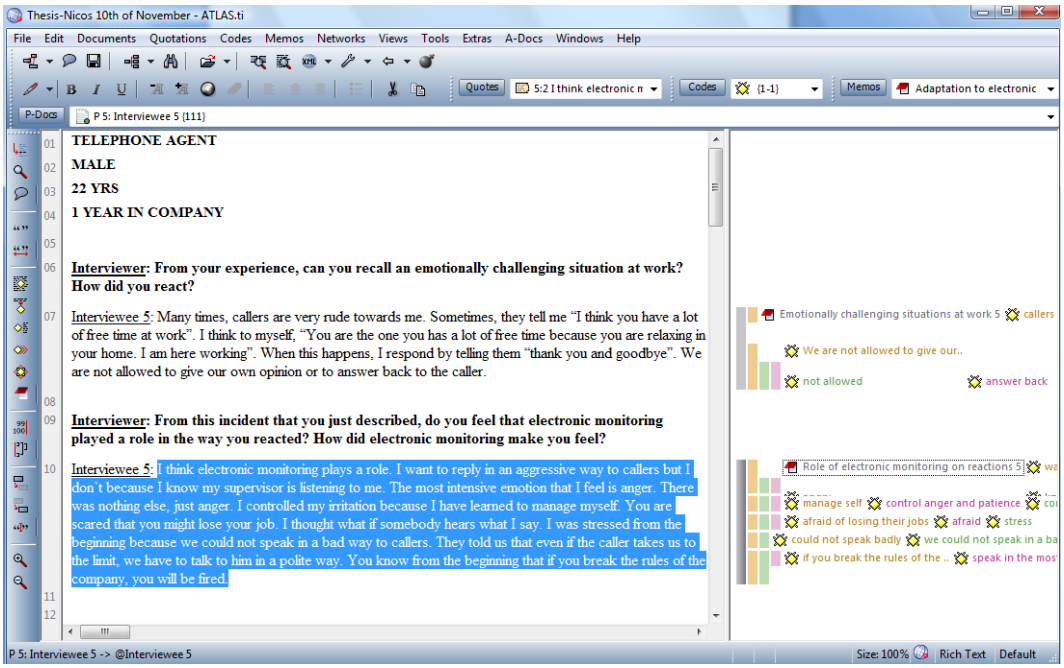


Illustration 2: Highlighting of important quotes

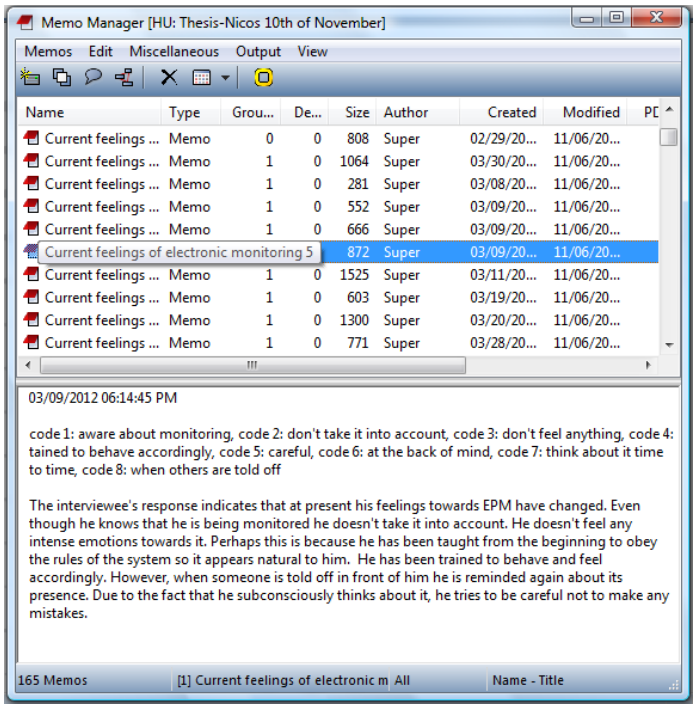


Illustration 3: Management of memos

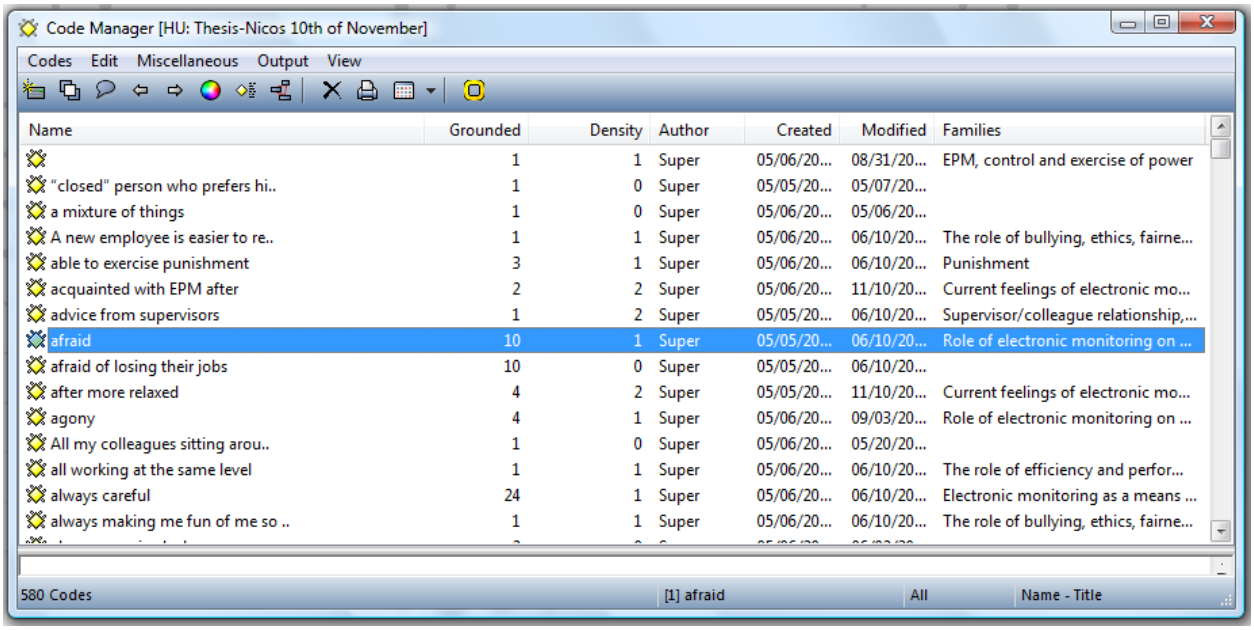


Illustration 4: Management of codes

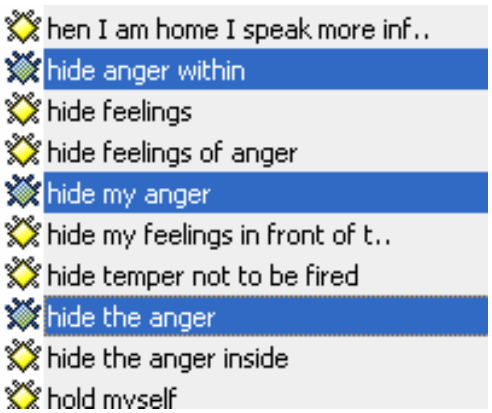


Illustration 5: Merging of codes

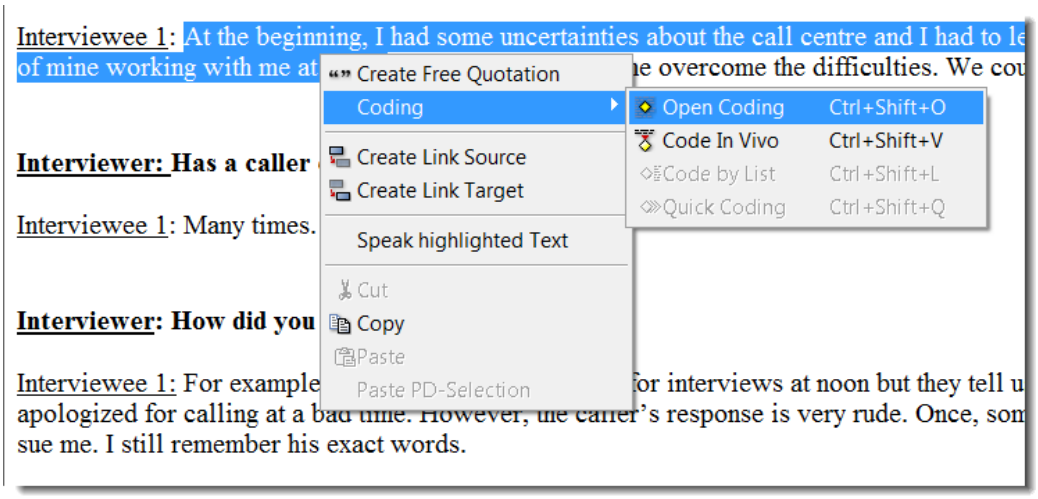
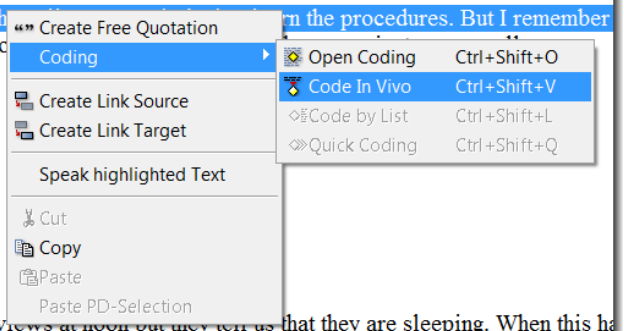


Illustration 6: Open coding

Interviewer: From your experience, can you recall an emotionally challenging situation at work? How did you react?

Interviewee 1: At the beginning, I had some uncertainties about th rn the procedures. But I remember of mine working with me at the call centre who helped me overcc



Interviewer: Has a caller ever made you feel bad.

Interviewee 1: Many times.

Interviewer: How did you react?

Interviewee 1: For example, sometimes we call people for interviews at noon but they tell us that they are sleeping. When this ha apologized for calling at a bad time. However, the caller's response is very rude. Once, somebody told me not to call him again

Illustration 7: In Vivo coding

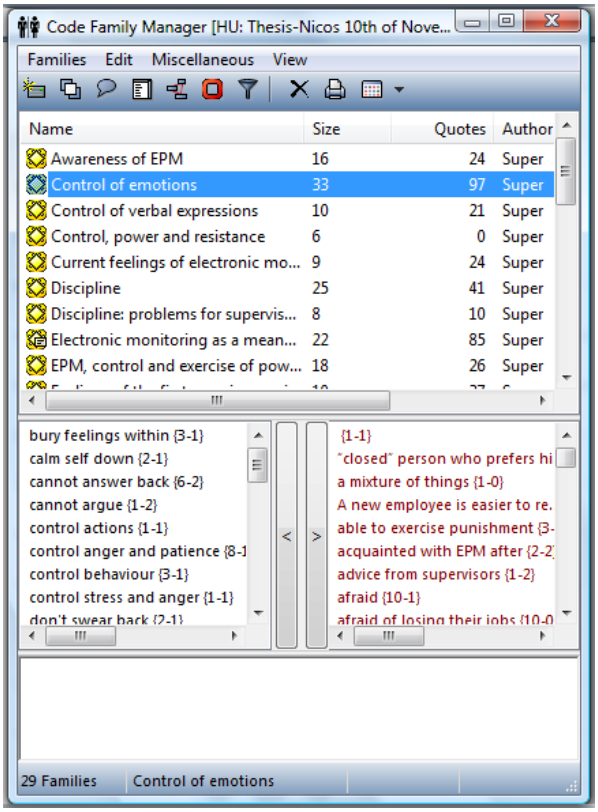


Illustration 8: Family of codes

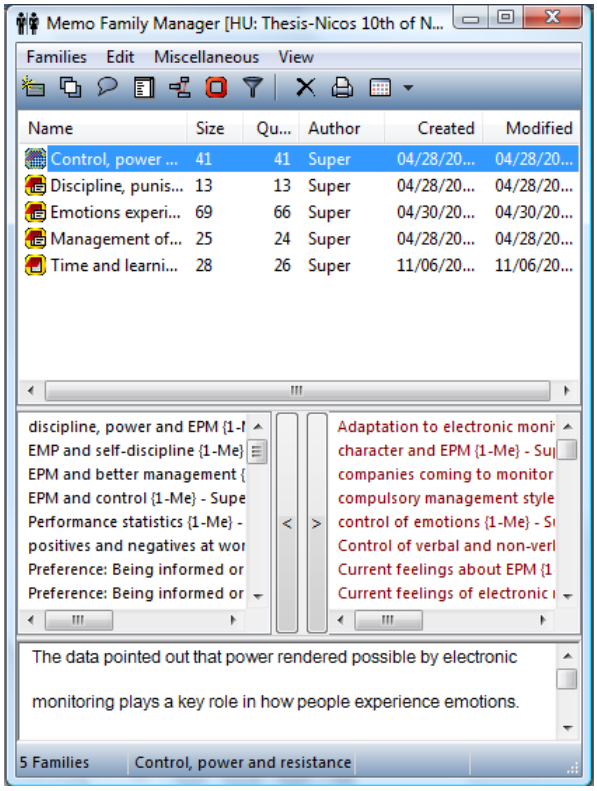


Illustration 9: Families of memos

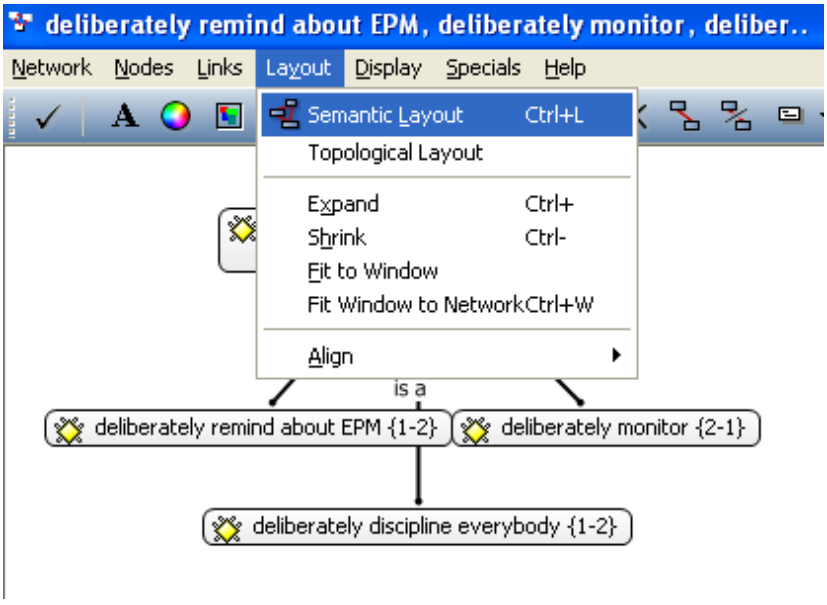


Illustration 10: Design of networks

APPENDIX 2: Categorizing, merging and matching codes with memos

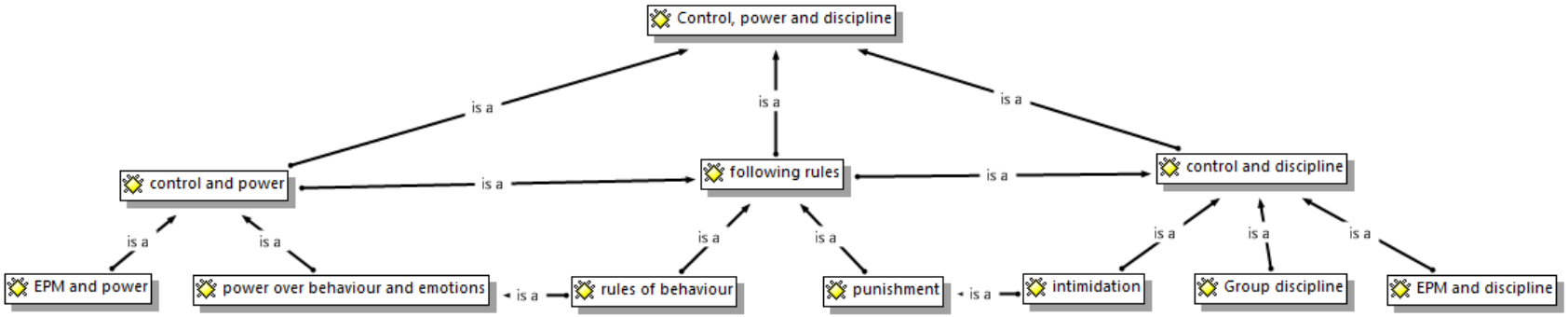
Control, power and Discipline (Theme/Category 1)	Rationality and Corrective Action (Theme/Category 1)	Compliance, Conformity and Resistance (Theme/Category 3)	Society, Responsibility and Accountability (Theme/Category 4)	Subjectivity, Internalization, the Self (Theme/Category 5)	Emotional Labour and Management of Emotions (Theme/Category 6)
Control and power (Subcategory 1) EPM and power Power over emotions and behaviour	**Correction and self-improvement (Subcategory 1)** Work correctly Worried of making mistakes Cautious and alert Careful with self	**Compliance and conformity (Subcategory 1)** Comply with EPM Accept the working situation Contain unwanted emotions Change my emotions Remain calm Control expressions Bury my true feelings Suppress feelings Manage emotions Control self	**Society (Subcategory 1)** Want others to accept me Work like others Display appropriate image Character matters Satisfy expectations Socially accepted Don't want to be humiliated Moral values Criticized by others Offended Norms	**Internalization (Subcategory 1)** Inside of me Suppress feelings	**Emotional labour (Subcategory 1)** Display appropriate image Act in a way which is suitable Control expressions More professional

Following rules (Subcategory 2) Rules of behavior Punishment	**Work according to standards (Subcategory 2)** Maintain standards Inconsistencies	**Resistance (Subcategory 2)** Resisting EPM Callers are rude Laugh when it happens Leave line open Leave from the company	**Responsibility and accountability (Subcategory 2)** Feel responsible Obligation Disappoint Feel guilty	**The self (Subcategory 2)** Control self Hold self Manage self Protect self Keep feelings to self Discipline self	**Management of emotions (Subcategory 2)** Manage emotions Change emotions Hide our true feelings Tired from managing emotions
Control and discipline (Subcategory 3) EPM and discipline Group discipline Intimidation	**Awareness (Subcategory 3)** Knowing about EPM Keep concentrated Back of my mind Memory			**Subjectivity (Subcategory 3)** Unconscious Spontaneous reaction Naturally Cannot explain it subconscious	
	Learning (Subcategory 4) At the beginning Now more ready				

APPENDIX 3: Main Themes, Categories and Dimensions

Theme 1: Control, Power and Discipline

Network for Category: Control, Power and Discipline



Matrix 1. Qualitative matrix for Category: Control and Power

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the category	Interpretation
EPM and power	I believe that by holding the ear set and listening to our calls gives them more power over us. They walk around the office with the ear set, touching our shoulders while we are speaking to callers. They are silently telling us to be careful. They can tell us off any moment of time. (6:104) The interviewee's answer shows that her supervisors do in fact use electronic monitoring to gain more power. She believes that through EPM, her supervisors increase their ability to exercise more control over her. She has to be always careful not to say or do something wrong. She is cautious because she is worried that she might be told off in front of others. AM[2]	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Power over behavior and emotions	We are expected to speak nicely to callers, we are expected to work well with our colleagues and we are expected to work at a high standard by our supervisors. (15:106) The information given by the interviewees shows that electronic monitoring forces people to follow specific rules. It makes people understand what they are allowed and what they are not allowed to do at work. EPM disciplines employees to carry out their jobs in the most precise way without making any mistakes. It aims to perfect people's jobs so as to increase their productivity. Employees feel worried while working under EPM because they are afraid of getting punished. The fact that the system can easily detect their mistakes makes them work harder to avoid negative circumstances. By not knowing when they are monitored, it makes them more insecure about their future. It seems that EPM deliberately operates to build fear and insecurity among employees. As a result, employees suppress the way they feel to avoid getting sanctioned. AM	

[2]AM: A(NALYTIC) M(EMO). An analytic memo is a brief description used during the coding and category construction that summarizes a possible interpretation or analysis of the data.

Matrix 2. Qualitative matrix for Category: Following rules

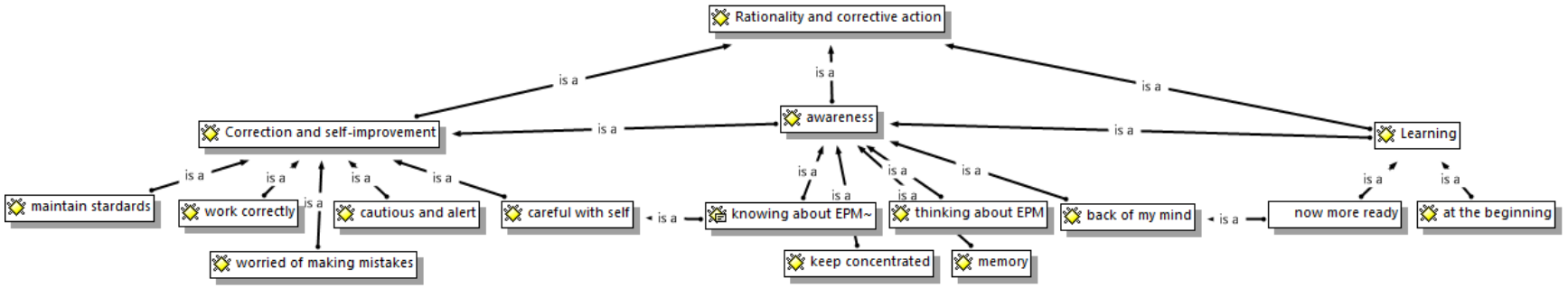
Intermediate Category	Quotes of the Intermediate category	Interpretation
Rules of behavior	We are not allowed to do whatever we want here. I keep concentrated in my work and try to avoid making mistakes. I obey the rules by keeping inside of me any negative emotions. I control myself to work like the others in order to avoid the risk of getting caught. I accept the working situation. I don't express inappropriate emotions. (15:2) The answer of the interviewee signifies that he people working under EPM have the tendency to comply with the system. Individuals worry that if they resist against the system, they might lose their job. As a result, they are forced to obey the rules. They chose not to express themselves by keeping inside of them and negative feelings. They control their reactions by not expressing emotions that are considered inappropriate by callers, colleagues and supervisors. AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Punishment	I am worried that if I don't close the line my supervisors will "catch" me and they will reprimand me. That he doesn't care getting punished. Personally it bothers me when they tell me off but I swallow the bitterness. (9:41) The information given by the interviewee shows that electronic monitoring does actually play a role in the way the person manages his feelings. The fact that he is cautious in his work and does not want to be told off or get fired indicates that he is careful in his actions. He feels that the EPM system makes him work like a robot increasing the pressure in his job. EPM also seems to create a sense of unfairness and favouritism among new and old employees. The system prevents employees from making mistakes. However, this makes people experience specific emotions such as worry, sadness, uneasy and nervous. They feel that it is a strict system which forces them to oppress themselves. It makes them hide their emotions by keeping their true emotions within them. AM	

Matrix 3. Qualitative matrix for Category: Control and discipline

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the Intermediate category	Interpretation
EPM and discipline	You could say that it is a form of defense against rude callers. I try to protect myself from the "bombs" of callers. I cannot answer back because my supervisor will tell me off. So, I bury my true feelings inside of me. I try to exhibit those behaviours which are proper without putting my job at risk. It is all a matter of discipline, knowing when to separate right from wrong. (17:45) This answer shows that people while working under EPM, individuals appraise each situation differently. They tend to change their emotions in order to express those feelings which are considered appropriate by others. They remember unpleasant memories from the past and modify their behaviour to resemble the characteristics of the other agents in the call centre. They manage their expressions by disciplining their negative feelings. They consider this process as a form of defense in order to protect themselves from verbal abuse. They bury their feelings within them and force themselves to avoid answering back. For them, it is a matter of discipline and separating what is right and wrong in the call centre context. AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Group discipline	I believe that by holding the ear set and listening to our calls gives them more power over us. They walk around the office with the ear set, touching our shoulders while we are speaking to callers. They are silently telling us to be careful. They can tell us off any moment of time. The fact that they are listening makes me more alert. (6:62) The interviewee's answer shows that her supervisors do in fact use electronic monitoring to gain more power. She believes that through EPM, her supervisors increase their ability to exercise more control over her. She has to be always careful not to say or do something wrong. She is cautious because she is worried that she might be told off in front of others. Perhaps she feels that it would be embarrassing to become a spectacle in front of everybody. AM	
Intimidation	Of course they do it to control us better. Even though my supervisor is reprimanding somebody else, I feel intimidated and worried that she might tell me off as well. I try not to make the same mistake as my colleague. I would feel ashamed if she reprimanded me in front of everybody. When my supervisors reprimand someone in front others, I am reminded again that we are being monitored. So I try to do be more careful in my job. (9:49) The information given by the interviewee shows that the person feels that his supervisor uses EPM to gain more power over him. He admits that his superiors use EPM to control him and intimidate him in a stricter way. Nevertheless, this control leads him to experience certain emotions such as worry and fear. The fact that the person would feel ashamed if reprimanded in front of others indicates that the system forces him to feel this way. It makes him behave according to the norms so that he doesn't present himself negatively in front of others. The social system has taught him to be part of a group which has similar expectations. Anyone with different feelings, thoughts and actions is considered to be "different". Therefore, the person forces himself to behave like others in order to avoid being picked on or bullied. Moreover, there seems to be an issue of unfairness and favouritism when working under EPM. AM	

Theme 2: Rationality and Corrective action

Network for Category: Rationality and Corrective action



Matrix 4. Qualitative matrix for Category: Correction and self-improvement

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the category	Interpretation
Maintain standards	I feel that I can't do something that is not allowed because someone is listening to me at any moment of the day. So I always try to do everything correctly, precisely as it is expected. Sometimes, I am worried that if I say something wrong they will punish me. I believe electronic monitoring makes you carry out your work in the correct way because you don't know when they are listening to you.(5:50) The information given by the interviewee shows that electronic monitoring plays a role in the way the person experiences emotions. The fact that he is concerned with not making mistakes makes him worried. Even though at the beginning his feelings about the system were more intense he still has to be careful. He has to discipline himself because the rules of the system dictate what he is allowed and not allowed to do. He has to make sure that he carries out his job correctly in order to avoid punishment. He has to fulfil the expectations of the electronic monitoring system otherwise he will suffer the consequences.AM	
Work correctly	I always want to do my job as best as possible so as to avoid receiving complaints from them. After all, they are the ones who are bringing money to the business. When the representatives of these companies listen to our calls, they check to see how we talk with our callers. (6:85) The information given by the interviewee shows that employees tend to forget that the electronic system is monitoring them. However, specific events take place which triggers intense emotions once again. The fact that companies who are paying for the research visit the company to monitor employees, leads call centre agents to feel tense. This is because they try to satisfy the expectations of their supervisors as well as clients. They aim to carry out their jobs as best as possible in order to avoid complaints. They are under pressure because they are careful of not making mistakes. Since clients are always checking to see if employees are polite and professional, they lead employees to control themselves. Employees may control their anger and patience so as to be heard in a nice way. They manage their verbal communication to a great degree because they know that if they say something wrong they will be punished. This preoccupation with talking formally to callers may derive from the fact that they have been taught since childhood to show respect to the rules of society. One must talk calmly and politely to others who hold more power (e.g. parents, teachers, policemen etc.).AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Worried of making mistakes	I felt that I couldn't do something that was not allowed because someone could listen to me at any moment of the day. So I always tried to do everything correctly, precisely as it was expected. I was worried that if I said something wrong they would punish me. I believe electronic monitoring makes you carry out your work in the correct way because you don't know when they are listening to you. We cannot tell if the supervisor is listening to us. They know that at any moment in time, we are thirty people here, a supervisor can jump in the line and listen to any one of us.(11:37) The information given by the interviewee shows that electronic monitoring forces people to follow specific rules. It makes people understand what they are allowed and what they are not allowed to do at work. EPM disciplines employees to carry out their jobs in the most precise way without making any mistakes. It aims to perfect people's jobs so as to increase their productivity. Employees feel worried while working under EPM because they are afraid of getting punished. The fact that the system can easily detect their mistakes makes them work harder to	

	avoid negative circumstances. By not knowing when they are monitored, it makes them more insecure about their future. It seems that EPM deliberately operates to build fear and insecurity among employees. As a result, employees suppress the way they feel to avoid getting sanctioned.AM	
Cautious and alert	The fact that they are listening to us through the telephone makes me cautious of what and how I have to say something. They can tell us off at any moment in time. People have been fired because of this. We are not robots. Because of so much pressure, we want to unwind for a while.(9:33) The information given by the interviewee shows that electronic monitoring does actually play a role in the way the person manages his feelings. The fact that he is cautious in his work and does not want to be told off or get fired indicates that he is careful in his actions. He feels that the EPM system makes him work like a robot increasing the pressure in his job. EPM also seems to create a sense of unfairness and favouritism among new and old employees. The system prevents employees from making mistakes. However, this makes people experience specific emotions such as worry, sadness, uneasy and nervous. They feel that it is a strict system which forces them to oppress themselves. It makes them hide their emotions by keeping their true emotions within them.AM	
Careful with self	Important people who hold high level jobs are checking to see whether I am polite and professional towards callers. If this doesn't happen, their company runs the risk building a bad image. So, I have to always be careful of what I say and how I respond to callers. I have to control myself not to say something silly. I especially control my anger and patience because sometimes callers are annoying. There are people who are uneducated and who are not able to communicate properly.(6:114) The information given by the interviewee shows that employees tend to forget that the electronic system is monitoring them. However, specific events take place which triggers intense emotions once again. The fact that companies who are paying for the research visit the company to monitor employees, leads call centre agents to feel tense. This is because they try to satisfy the expectations of their supervisors as well as clients. They aim to carry out their jobs as best as possible in order to avoid complaints. They are under pressure because they are careful of not making mistakes. Since clients are always checking to see if employees are polite and professional, they lead employees to control themselves. Employees may control their anger and patience so as to be heard in a nice way. They manage their verbal communication to a great degree because they know that if they say something wrong they will be punished. This preoccupation with talking formally to callers may derive from the fact that they have been taught since childhood to show respect to the rules of society. One must talk calmly and politely to others who hold more power (e.g. parents, teachers, policemen etc.).AM	

Matrix 5. Qualitative matrix for Category: Awareness

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the Intermediate category	Interpretation
Knowing about EPM	I know from before that the system can spot my mistakes. So, I am careful not to do or say something wrong. For example, when talking with customers I control myself not to be heard wrongly. I hide emotions that are considered impolite.(16:12) This answer demonstrates that EPM conditions individuals to correct and improve on their mistakes. This way the possibility for mistakes is significantly reduced. Agents are careful not to say or do something wrong. They control themselves not to be heard wrongly. They do this by hiding their emotions and eliminating behaviours that are considered by others as impolite. They work in a concentrated manner by keeping mistakes to themselves. They feel responsible for their performance and try to continuously improve it.AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Thinking about EPM	Sometimes, I hear an echo on the phone while I am talking with a caller. I sense that somebody has interrupted the line. I always suspect that someone is listening to me. This influences me. I feel embarrassed when this happens. I don't feel comfortable when somebody is checking me. From time to time, the manager of the company paying for the research is given access to listen to our calls.(8:32) The information provided by the interviewee shows that the emotions of the person working under EPM have changed. The person has gained more experience about the demands of the system making it part of her everyday job. She has learned not to make mistakes because the EPM system has trained her to work more effectively. However, specific events at work cause her to experience intense emotions again. The reprimands of her supervisors monitoring her via the phone and the external clients visiting the company trigger her emotions. AM	
Keep concentrated	We are not allowed to do whatever we want here. I keep concentrated in my work and try to avoid making mistakes. I obey the rules by keeping inside of me any negative emotions. I control myself to work like the others in order to avoid the risk of getting caught.(15:3) The answer of the interviewee signifies that he people working under EPM have the tendency to comply with the system. Individuals worry that if they resist against the system, they might lose their job. As a result, they are forced to obey the rules. They chose not to express themselves by keeping inside of them and negative feelings. They control their reactions by not expressing emotions that are considered inappropriate by callers, colleagues and supervisors.AM	
Back of my mind	After the caller hangs up, I will say something quietly inside of me or describe the incident to my colleague sitting next to me, a friend or a relative of mine. But even if there was no electronic surveillance, I would still be like this. I am a person who doesn't like answering back. However, I think of electronic monitoring. I have at it at the "back of my mind".(2:48) The information given by the interviewee shows that EPM plays a role in how the person expresses her feelings. EPM forces her to keep things to herself by being always polite. She hides her true emotions by not answering back to rude callers. She copes with the suppression of her feelings by expressing them to others. This suppression might be because of her personality characteristics or because of her social	

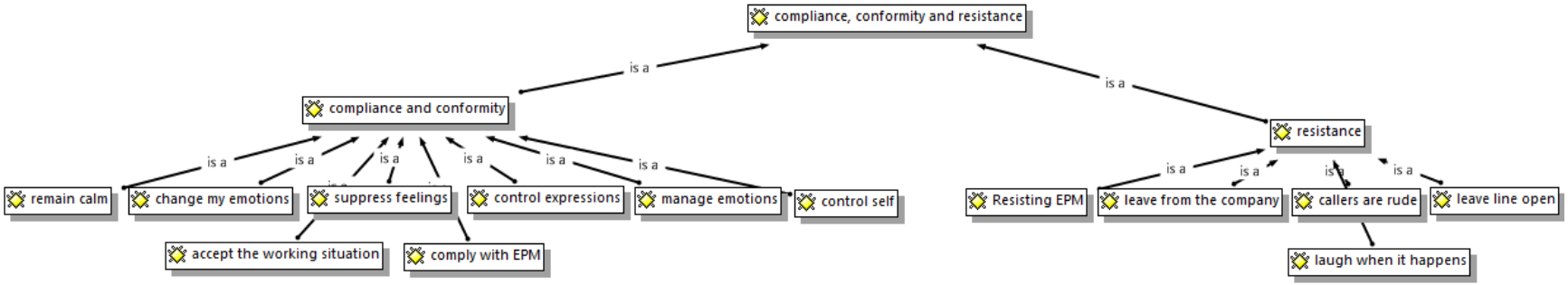
	upbringing. The fact that she has electronic monitoring at the back of her mind shows that it is something that concerns her. Something that has caused her or somebody else in her surroundings to feel and remember something unique. AM	
Memory	I suppose that the external rules of the call centre and the monitoring system have been saved in my mind. So I act in a way that is in accordance with those rules without the need to think about them all the time. I control the thoughts that go through my mind.(17:47) This answer demonstrates that individuals exercise self-discipline but they cannot explain how. They claim that they restrain themselves by holding within them emotions that others dislike. They let out those feelings that others will consider appropriate at work. They do not realize that this process actually take place within them. It happens impulsively. They tend to control their thoughts and reactions. They display the emotions that others will view are suitable and appropriate in the environment.AM	

Matrix 6. Qualitative matrix for Category: Learning

Intermediate Category	**Quotes of the Intermediate category**	**Interpretation**
At the beginning	At the beginning I felt uncomfortable but afterwards it passed. I was trembling knowing I was monitored because it was my first time in this job. I was worried that I might make a mistake. That is why they are listening to us anyway. To check if we make mistakes. I felt mostly worried because I didn't know the job rather than because they were monitoring me. Afterwards, I was more relaxed. I could say that monitoring helped me because the supervisors gave us advice while speaking to callers.(3:17) The interviewee's answer indicates that the person knew that she was being monitored. Feelings at the beginning were more intense because she was new in the job. She was not acquainted with the system of working. The feelings she mostly felt at the beginning was discomfort and worry. These feelings were experienced because she didn't want to make any mistakes. However, these emotions were not fully experienced because of electronic monitoring. She felt these emotions because of other reasons as well (e.g. new in the job). After a certain time period, she felt more relaxed with EPM and admits that the system helped her because supervisors gave her advice. AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Now more ready	I discipline myself to avoid distractions and concentrate in exhibiting the emotion which is appropriate at that moment. I suppress my feelings inside of me and try to keep them there until I leave from work. However, this comes instinctively. I have gotten used to it.(16:99) This answer demonstrates that individuals tend to change their thoughts when they are managing their emotions under EPM. They conceal their anger and bring to surface feelings that others want to see. They discipline themselves by avoiding distractions and concentrating in their work. They exhibit those emotions that others will consider as appropriate. They suppress feelings by keeping inside of them emotions that are not viewed as positive. The process of self-discipline seems to be unconscious as people instinctively control their emotions. AM	

Theme 3: Compliance, Conformity and Corrective action

Network for Category: Compliance, Conformity and Corrective action



Matrix 7. Qualitative matrix for Category: Compliance and Conformity

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the category	Interpretation
Comply with EPM	I think electronic monitoring plays a role. I want to reply in an aggressive way to callers but I don't because I know my supervisor is listening to me. The most intensive emotion that I feel is anger. There was nothing else, just anger. I controlled my irritation because I have learned to manage myself. You are scared that you might lose your job. I thought what if somebody hears what I say.(5:84) The interviewee's answer shows that EPM plays a role in the way he emotional reacts. He mostly feels anger because callers speak to him in a bad way. The fact that he knows supervisors are listening to him makes him control his irritation because he doesn't want to be heard in a negative way. He is scared of losing his job so he learns to manage himself while speaking to callers. At the start of his employment, he felt more stressed not to be heard by others. He behaves in a polite way in order not to break the rules and to avoid getting fired.AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Accept the working situation	No warning was given to him. I feel that people who have worked here longer have more privileges than new employees. There is no meritocracy. I don't have the same treatment as someone else who has worked for a longer. Others also feel the same way (unfairness) but they might not have the courage to say it. They tell me during our breaks. They are afraid of losing their jobs.(9:98) The information given by the interviewee shows that the person feels that his supervisor uses EPM to gain more power over him. He admits that his superiors use EPM to control him and intimidate him in a stricter way. Nevertheless, this control leads him to experience certain emotions such as worry and fear. The fact that the person would feel ashamed if reprimanded in front of others indicates that the system forces him to feel this way. It makes him behave according to the norms so that he doesn't present himself negatively in front of others. The social system has taught him to be part of a group which has similar expectations. Anyone with different feelings, thoughts and actions is considered to be "different". Therefore, the person forces himself to behave like others in order to avoid being picked on or bullied. Moreover, there seems to be an issue of unfairness and favouritism when working under EPM..AM	
Contain unwanted emotions	I keep to myself and try to avoid displaying inappropriate feelings. I guess it is a matter of concentration and discipline. However, many times it comes naturally. I adjust my feelings to the personality of the caller.(16:39) This answer shows that when people manage their emotions under EPM, they control their expressions. They keep negative feelings to themselves by displaying only appropriate emotions. Emotions that others will consider as being acceptable. They tend to concentrate and adjusted their emotions so as to be expressed properly. However, after some time this management of emotions comes naturally to them and they begin to react spontaneously..AM	
Remain calm	Whatever a caller says to me, even if he swears at me, my mother or father, I tell him thanking you and goodbye. Later on, I describe the circumstance to my colleagues sitting next to me. I have to show a good image. I wish I could talk to the caller in the same way but I know that if a do it I will be fired. So, I have to remain calm. Knowing that my supervisor hears me, I control myself not to say something stupid. I	

	mostly control my anger.(9:113) The interviewee's answer shows that the rudeness of callers mostly cause him to emotionally react. The fact that they call him names such as bothersome make him feel upset. He believes that the insults of callers force him to work according to the standards of the call centre. He is concerned with presenting himself in a good way so as not to get fired. Because his supervisor listens to his calls he forces himself to remain calm. He controls feelings of anger in order not to be reprimanded by his supervisor.AM	
Bury my true feelings	You could say that it is a form of defense against rude callers. I try to protect myself from the "bombs" of callers. I cannot answer back because my supervisor will tell me off. So, I bury my true feelings inside of me. I try to exhibit those behaviours which are proper without putting my job at risk. It is all a matter of discipline, knowing when to separate right from wrong.(17:45) This answer shows that people while working under EPM, individuals appraise each situation differently. They tend to change their emotions in order to express those feelings which are considered appropriate by others. They remember unpleasant memories from the past and modify their behaviour to resemble the characteristics of the other agents in the call centre. They manage their expressions by disciplining their negative feelings. They consider this process as a form of defense in order to protect themselves from verbal abuse. They bury their feelings within them and force themselves to avoid answering back. For them, it is a matter of discipline and separating what is right and wrong in the call centre context.AM	
Swallow bitterness	I am worried that if I don't close the line my supervisors will "catch" me and they will reprimand me. That he doesn't care getting punished. Personally it bothers me when they tell me off but I swallow the bitterness. I feel the log-on and log-off system is very strict.(9:42) The information given by the interviewee shows that electronic monitoring does actually play a role in the way the person manages his feelings. The fact that he is cautious in his work and does not want to be told off or get fired indicates that he is careful in his actions. He feels that the EPM system makes him work like a robot increasing the pressure in his job. EPM also seems to create a sense of unfairness and favouritism among new and old employees. The system prevents employees from making mistakes. However, this makes people experience specific emotions such as worry, sadness, uneasy and nervous. They feel that it is a strict system which forces them to oppress themselves. It makes them hide their emotions by keeping their true emotions within them.AM	
Control expressions	Yes, I controlled myself not do or say something bad. I managed my anger because I didn't want to seem rude towards him. It is not my personality to be rude towards people. After all, we are asking for their help. We don't pay them anything. We don't even know who they are. We have an obligation to be polite to them. (1:22) The information given by the interviewee shows that people manage themselves while working. They mostly manage the feeling of anger so as not to sound or appear negatively towards others. They attribute this behavious to their personal characteristics. They feel an obligation to behave in a polite way. Most probably this obligation is the result of their social upbringing. They have been taught in society to show respect and obedience towards people of higher power (e.g. parents, teachers, managers).AM	

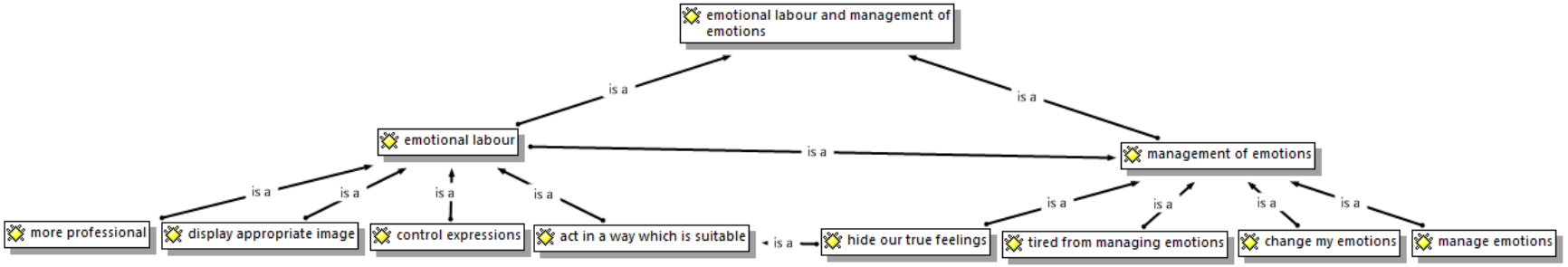
Matrix 8. Qualitative matrix for Category: Resistance

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the Intermediate category	Interpretation
Resisting EPM	Once, when one of the supervisors got upset with the performance of a telephone agent, she shouted at him in front of other as if she owned the company. The telephone agent got so upset that he deliberately through his coffee on the floor and went outside for a break. The break is 15mins. He came back after 30mins.(1:104) The information given by the interviewee working under electronic monitoring shows that at emotions felt at the beginning are more intense. People are afraid of making mistakes; they are worried of losing their jobs. They feel surprised by the systems as well as the behaviour of their supervisors. However, after some time they get used to it and their intense emotions are reduced. Nevertheless, when their supervisors reprimand their colleagues in front of everybody their emotions once again are triggered. Employees are reminded about electronic monitoring and force themselves to control the way they feel and behave.AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Callers are rude	Sometimes we call people for interviews at noon but they tell us that they are sleeping. When this happened to me, I apologized for calling at a bad time. However, the caller's response is very rude. Once, somebody told me not to call him again and he threatened to sue me.(1:21) The information given by the interviewee shows that agents are forced to apologize to others even if it is not their fault. It seems that callers are regarded as being at a higher level with considerable power. The person who is working under EPM feels threatened by callers. There are elements of fear in the words of call agents.AM	
Laugh when it happens	If someone gets me upset, I take a break and have a cup of coffee. It is more difficult, however, to control laughter. Most of the times, I start laughing in front of my colleagues and while I am speaking to callers. It is a feeling that I cannot easily manage.(5:60) The information given by the interviewee indicates that the person in actual fact manages himself. He does this by not answering back to rude callers. He restrains his anger by calming himself down. He also manages laughter because he doesn't want to give a negative impression. So he controls himself by not laughing at all. To deal with the problem he takes a break. He admits that controlling himself is a difficult task. He cannot easily manage the way he feels and acts. AM	
Leave line open	I don't express myself emotionally in any way. However, I cannot do this all the time. It is impossible for me to put a mask on my face forever. Sometimes, I cannot control my feelings. I take revenge for the caller's rudeness. For example, I leave the line open after the customer has hung up and enter the wrong information in the questionnaire.(17:5) This answer shows that people may resist when working under EPM. They might discipline themselves to avoid expressing unwanted emotions. They will silence themselves but will find it difficult to do this all the time. They cannot control their feelings and put a mask on	

	their face forever. They have the need to resist against the oppresity of the system by leaving the line open and entering the wrong information on the questionnaire.AM	
Leave from the company	I have gotten used to the system. I feel that through the monitoring system I have improved. However, I believe that other people working with me cannot work properly. Some of them left the company for this reason. It made them feel uncomfortable. They felt that it was a bridge of privacy. I personally don't feel that way.(5:126) The information given by the interviewee shows that the employee prefers not being monitored. He cares a lot about doing his job correctly. The feelings that he feels intensely under EPM are worry and nervousness. He believes that electronic monitoring can affect the way he feels to a great extent. Even though he often forgets about EPM, he thinks about it sometimes because he is reminded by his supervisors and callers. He believes that whilst EPM helps him improve in his work, it can nevertheless be a reason for leaving the company due to bridge of privacy.AM	

Theme 4: Emotional labour and management of emotions

Network for Category: Emotional labour and the management of emotions



Matrix 9. Qualitative matrix for Category: Emotional labour

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the category	Interpretation
Display appropriate image	Knowing that somebody is listening to me "I filter my thoughts" before saying something in order to avoid making mistakes. I try to speak in the most polite way to the caller so as to be heard more professional. I don't want to give the impression that I am rude towards the caller.(8:40) The information provided by the interviewee shows that the emotions of the person working under EPM have changed. The person has gained more experience about the demands of the system making it part of her everyday job. She has learned not to make mistakes because the EPM system has trained her to work more effectively. However, specific events at work cause her to experience intense emotions again. The reprimands of her supervisors monitoring her via the phone and the external clients visiting the company trigger her emotions. Due to the fact that she is reminded again about the system she experiences emotions such as discomfort, pressure, worry and nervousness. She exercises pressure on herself be polite and give a positive impression. This makes her manage her negative emotions in order not to exhibit a bad image. She doesn't want to be punished for saying or doing something wrong.AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Act in a way which is suitable	I control my feelings while speaking with callers. I try to focus more on reading out the questions from questionnaire we have in front of us. I am speaking to callers in a more mechanical way. I don't want to show to them that I am sad.(4:53) The information provided by the interviewee indicates that when she is at work she in manages the way she feels. The questionnaire helps her deal with this management of emotions as she tends to forget about the pressure. The questionnaire makes her work more like a machine eliminating any sort of feeling. In this way, she is able to control the way she truly feels in front of callers and supervisors. It seems that the speed in which employees work in the call centre doesn't give them time to think or react towards the EPM system. Perhaps that is why they don't pay attention to it even though it is there. AM	
Control expressions	I restrain the way I talk to callers. I always manage myself to talk in a formal way. Our supervisors told us to do this from the beginning. I feel that callers wouldn't take me seriously if I talked in an informal way. I am worried not to say something bad. I "measure" my words when I say something.(5:68) The information given by the interviewee shows that electronic monitoring plays a role in the way the person experiences emotions. The fact that he is concerned with not making mistakes makes him worried. Even though at the beginning his feelings about the system were more intense he still has to be careful. He has to discipline himself because the rules of the system dictate what he is allowed and not allowed to do. He has to make sure that he carries out his job correctly in order to avoid punishment. He has to fulfil the expectations of the electronic monitoring system otherwise he will suffer the consequences.AM	
	I control myself not do or say something bad. I manage my anger because I didn't want to seem rude towards him. It is not my personality to	

More professional	be rude towards people. After all, we are asking for their help. We don't pay them anything. We don't even know who they are. We have an obligation to be polite to them.(6:23) The answer of the interviewee indicates that employees do in fact manage their emotions at work. They sometimes have to control themselves in order to exhibit a favourable image to others. This might potentially make them behave as a different person due to the fact that they have to hide their true character. Sometimes employees cannot show their real feelings in front of people who possess power (callers, supervisors) in order not to be viewed negatively. This may be because they have been taught by their social system to show respect and obedience towards people with authority. So this respect and obedience has been transferred in their job making it part of their work ethic. People at work can control emotions such as sadness, anger and happiness in order to present a good image to others. They manage these feelings for the purpose of not being rude..AM	

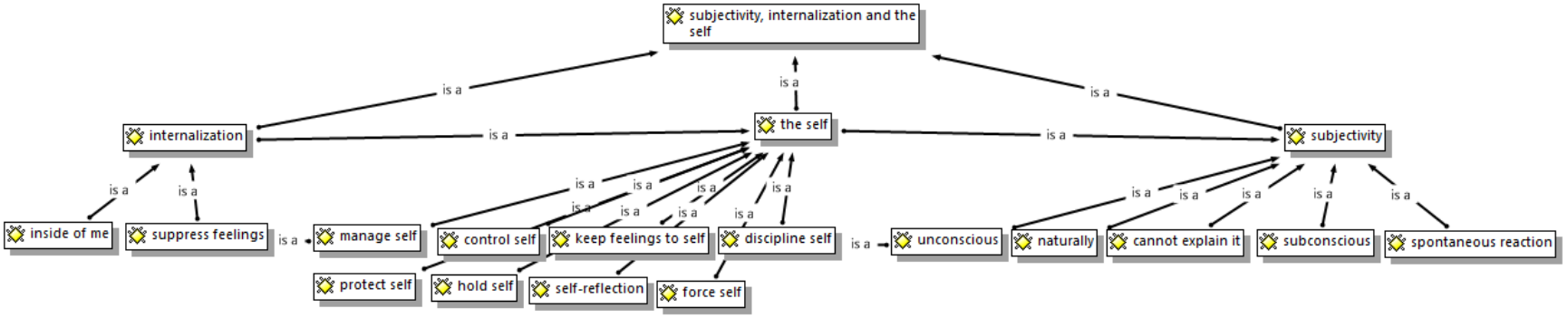
Matrix 10. Qualitative matrix for Category: Management of emotions

Intermediate Category	**Quotes of the Intermediate category**	**Interpretation**
Manage emotions	I managed my anger because I didn't want to seem rude towards him. It is not my personality to be rude towards people. After all, we are asking for their help.(1:47) The information given by the interviewee shows that people manage themselves while working. They mostly manage the feeling of anger so as not to sound or appear negatively towards others. They attribute this behavious to their personal characteristics. They feel an obligation to behave in a polite way. Most probably this obligation is the result of their social upbringing. They have been taught in society to show respect and obedience towards people of higher power (e.g. parents, teachers, managers).AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Change my emotions	I modify my behavior to display a good image to the callers as well as other people around me. I am prohibited to display any negative emotions. If this happens, I will be told off by my supervisor. I obey to the display rules of the call centre just like the others here. I try to act in the same way as the other agents. It would feel strange both for me and the others if I behaved in a different way.(15:51) This answer demonstrates that individuals working under EPM modify their behaviour to display a good image to others. People are not allowed to show their negative emotions. He has to obey the rules of how he should express himself. These rules are the same for other people working around him. He has to act in the same way as his colleagues in order for others not to perceive him in a strange way.AM	

Hide our true feelings	I conceal my anger and bring to surface a feeling of happiness. I discipline myself to avoid distractions and concentrate in exhibiting the emotion which is appropriate at that moment. I suppress my feelings inside of me and try to keep them there until I leave from work.(16:95) This answer demonstrates that individuals tend to change their thoughts when they are managing their emotions under EPM. They conceal their anger and bring to surface feelings that others want to see. They discipline themselves by avoiding distractions and concentrating in their work. They exhibit those emotions that others will consider as appropriate. They suppress feelings by keeping inside of them emotions that are not viewed as positive. The process of self-discipline seems to be unconscious as people instinctively control their emotions. After they get used to EPM, self-discipline comes out naturally for them without noticing it. Self-discipline becomes part of their character. Similar to a society, individuals embed inside of them the rules of controlling their reactions.AM	

Theme 5: Subjectivity, Internalization and the Self

Network for Category: Subjectivity, Internalization and the Self



Matrix 11. Qualitative matrix for Category: Subjectivity

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the category	Interpretation
Unconscious	Sometimes I don't even realize that I am displaying other emotions. I think it is a spontaneous reaction. Knowing that proper behavior is part of the system, I have learned to put on the face that is appropriate for specific situations.(15:65) This answer demonstrates that individuals manage their behaviour while working under EPM. They force themselves to display images that are appropriate in the call centre environment. This behaviour feels right to the interviewee because he has become part of the cultural system that exists in the call centre. He doesn't realize that he is forcing himself to do this. Displayed images come out spontaneously for him because he has learned to behave according to the rules of the system. He doesn't question them. He puts on the face which is appropriate for the situation. AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Spontaneous reaction	I discipline myself. But it is difficult to say exactly how. I guess I restrain my feelings. I hold within me the feelings I think others will dislike and let out the feelings that they feel are appropriate at that specific situation. However, I feel this happens impulsively. I don't think all the time that I need to discipline myself. It happens without noticing (17:46) This answer demonstrates that individuals exercise self-discipline but they cannot explain how. They claim that they restrain themselves by holding within them emotions that others dislike. They let out those feelings that others will consider appropriate at work. They do not realize that this process actually take place within them. It happens impulsively. They tend to control their thoughts and reactions. They display the emotions that others will view are suitable and appropriate in the environment.AM	
Naturally	I have to show empathy towards the callers. This way I have to separate my emotions by choosing the ones that are appropriate at that moment. This happens very fast. It is like emotions surface naturally from inside to outside.(15:80) This answer shows that individuals tend to change their emotions while working under EPM. They strive to modify their feelings so as to be viewed in a better way by others in the call centre environment. He manages himself by concealing negative emotions. He tries to express more positive emotions that people will like. He has the need to show empathy to callers. This is because he feels socially obligated to others in his surroundings. He has to separate negative and positive emotions by choosing the ones which are more proper for the situation. This process takes place within a short period of time, perhaps spontaneously. Emotions are expressed naturally without the need of too much thinking. This shows that the management of emotions is deeply rooted in the subjectivity of individuals. People express the feelings that are required by others but they do not realize that they are actually suppressing themselves.AM	
Cannot explain it	I keep quiet and try not to express any negative feelings. I am careful. It is difficult to explain how this happens. I think that it takes place without really thinking about it. It feels something natural for me. I didn't notice it before we started talking about it. (16:105)	

	This answer shows that individuals discipline themselves when they are working under EPM. The discipline their emotional reactions by keeping quiet and not expressing negative feelings. They are careful how they will react. The try to stop unwanted emotions and express emotions that seem appropriate. They imagine how negative reactions will be interpreted by others and try to avoid them in before they are expressed. However, individuals believe that self-discipline is an unconscious process. They do not realize that they are disciplining themselves. It is a process which is rooted in their subjectivity and it is triggered naturally. This could be explained by the fact that they slowly learn to adapt to the system. They are taught to self-discipline and as a consequence manage their emotions. This process resembles that of a social environment where people embed in their minds the norms of behaving and emotional reaction.AM	
Subconscious	Subconsciously I know that my supervisors are listening to me. So I try to speak in a professional way. I control my emotions. Once, I remember my colleague sitting next to me was reprimanded by one of supervisors for a mistake she had done. (4:27) The interviewee's answer shows that electronic monitoring does play a role in the way she manages her feelings. At the back of her mind, she is considering the fact that she is being heard by her supervisors. That is why she tries to exhibit a professional image to them. When others are reprimanded, she controls emotions such as fear. She tries to avoid making the same mistakes in order not to be told off in the same way. So, she is undertaken by a feeling of insecurity when she is electronically monitored.AM	

Matrix 12. Qualitative matrix for Category: Internalization

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the Intermediate category	Interpretation
Inside of me	I control myself to behave accordingly. It is something that I cannot explain. I think that it comes from within me but I don't realize that I am doing it.(17:25) This answer shows that individuals working under EPM exercise self-discipline. They do this by keeping focused in how they express themselves. They tend to be careful in their emotional reactions. They control their behaviours in a way which will seem appropriate by others around them. However, it seems that this self-discipline is an unconscious process. They don't realize that they are disciplining their emotions. It comes out naturally for them because they don't realize that they are disciplining themselves. In this manner, they express themselves spontaneously in a way which is considered proper by others. They contain feelings of anger and sorrow. They forced themselves to behave like them by appearing normal. They don't want to appear different from others.AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
	It is like I am suppressing emotions that I actually feel. I try to bring out feelings that others want to see. Many times, it feels like I am wearing a mask. I don't express myself.(15:47)	

Suppress feelings	The answer of the interviewee shows that when managing his feelings, he controls himself. He removes any thought from his mind and concentrates in the way he speaks to the callers. He concentrates so as to avoid making any mistakes in advance. He disciplines himself so as to behave properly towards callers. He finds it difficult to explain how he disciplines himself. This could be perhaps because self-discipline is a deeply entrenched process rooted in his subjectivity. Self-discipline is part of his unconscious. Therefore, emotions are managed and expressed impulsively. He suppresses and brings out emotions that others expect to see. He tries to exhibit those emotions that other people expect to see. This makes him feel like he is wearing a mask forbidding him to express himself. AM	

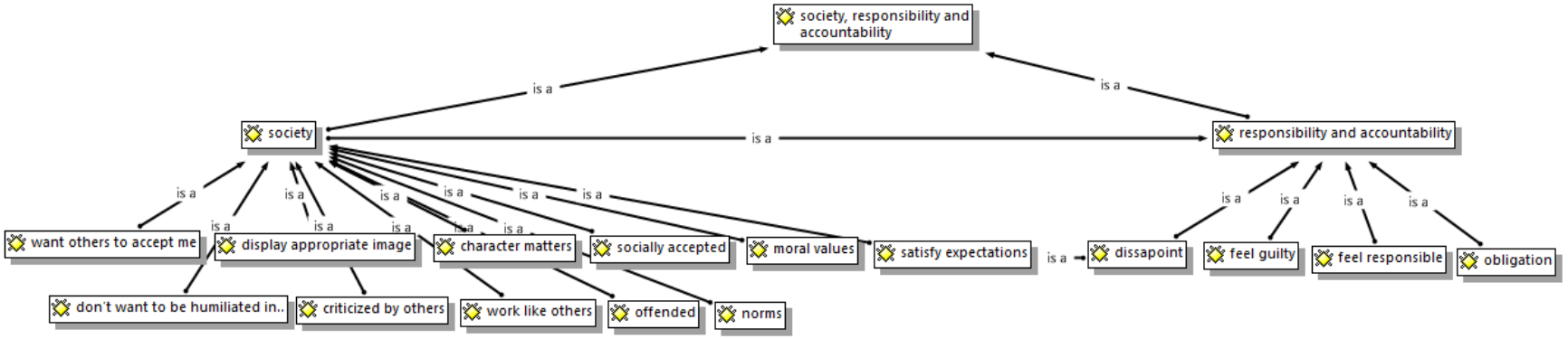
Matrix 13. Qualitative matrix for Category: The Self

Intermediate Category	**Quotes of the Intermediate category**	**Interpretation**
Control self	I control myself. I try to remove any other thought from my mind. I concentrate on how I speak to the caller and try to avoid mistakes that I did before. I sometimes smile when talking to a caller even if he/she cannot see me.(15:38) The answer of the interviewee shows that when managing his feelings, he controls himself. He removes any thought from his mind and concentrates in the way he speaks to the callers. He concentrates so as to avoid making any mistakes in advance. He disciplines himself so as to behave properly towards callers. He finds it difficult to explain how he disciplines himself. This could be perhaps because self-discipline is a deeply entrenched process rooted in his subjectivity. Self-discipline is part of his unconscious. Therefore, emotions are managed and expressed impulsively. He suppresses and brings out emotions that others expect to see. He tries to exhibit those emotions that other people expect to see. This makes him feel like he is wearing a mask forbidding him to express himself. AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Hold self	Electronic monitoring made things even worse. I didn't want to start shouting at them. I knew my supervisor was listening to me. So I had to control my anger. I wanted to swear back at them but I held myself back.(7:19) The answer of the interviewee indicates that electronic monitoring can play a role in the way individuals emotionally react at work. The fact that the person knows that he is been heard, he forces himself to control his emotions such as anger. He wants to swear back and shout to the people who are making fun of him but he doesn't because he is worried that he might get in trouble. He feels uncomfortable and cannot concentrate because he is afraid of losing his job. It seems that the economic crisis also influences people as it makes them feel more insecure. Therefore, a mixture of external and internal reasons including EPM may emotionally affect an individual at work.AM	
	I manage myself when I feel sleepy, tired or bored. When I speak to callers, I force myself not to be rude to them. I am happy when they say that they don't want to take part in the telephone survey. I tell myself "thank god". I don't want to do the research either.(2:56)	

Manage self	The information given by the interviewee indicates that she does in fact manage her emotions at work. She controls herself not to do or say something inappropriate to callers. She manages herself mostly when she feels sleepy, tired and bored. She forces herself to speak in a good way and holds herself not to show any negative emotions. AM	
Protect self	You could say that it is a form of defense against rude callers. I try to protect myself from the "bombs" of callers. I cannot answer back because my supervisor will tell me off. So, I bury my true feelings inside of me. I try to exhibit those behaviours which are proper without putting my job at risk. It is all a matter of discipline, knowing when to separate right from wrong.(17:45) This answer shows that people while working under EPM, individuals appraise each situation differently. They tend to change their emotions in order to express those feelings which are considered appropriate by others. They remember unpleasant memories from the past and modify their behaviour to resemble the characteristics of the other agents in the call centre. They manage their expressions by disciplining their negative feelings. They consider this process as a form of defense in order to protect themselves from verbal abuse. They bury their feelings within them and force themselves to avoid answering back. For them, it is a matter of discipline and separating what is right and wrong in the call centre context.AM	
Keep feelings to self	I feel responsible for my own mistakes and try to correct them immediately. I don't want my supervisors and colleagues to notice. I try to keep mistakes to myself.(16:20) This answer demonstrates that EPM conditions individuals to correct and improve on their mistakes. Individuals learn to anticipate problems before they actually happen. This way the possibility for mistakes is significantly reduced. Agents are careful not to say or do something wrong. They control themselves not to be heard wrongly. They do this by hiding their emotions and eliminating behaviours that are considered by others as impolite. They work in a concentrated manner by keeping mistakes to themselves. They feel responsible for their performance and try to continuously improve it.AM	
Discipline self	I most of the times try to discipline myself not to do or say something which will put my job at risk. I do this by silencing myself. I don't express myself emotionally in any way.(17:1) This answer shows that people may resist when working under EPM. They might discipline themselves to avoid expressing unwanted emotions. They will silence themselves but will find it difficult to do this all the time. They cannot control their feelings and put a mask on their face forever. They have the need to resist against the oppresity of the system by leaving the line open and entering the wrong information on the questionnaire.AM	

Theme 6: Society, Responsibility and Accountability

Network for Category: Society, Responsibility and Accountability



Matrix 14. Qualitative matrix for Category: Society

Intermediate Category	Quotes of the category	Interpretation
Satisfy expectations	There are so many expectations from me. It is difficult to satisfy everyone. I try my best but I don't know if they appreciate it. I have to constantly change my emotions in order to adapt to the demands of the environment.(17:39) This answer shows that individuals working under EPM exercise excessive pressure on themselves in order to perform according to standards. They force themselves to pretend that everything ok in order to satisfy the expectations of the people around them. The change their emotions in such a way so as to adapt to the working environment of EPM.AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Want others to accept me	The fact that you don't see the caller also plays a role. Afterwards, I tend to forget about the angry caller because I immediately accept another call. But what I usually do is that later I switch off the head set and discuss the incident with my colleagues. We joke about it.(8:22) The interviewee's answer shows that electronic monitoring does play a role in the way the person emotionally reacts. The fact that she controls herself when she is speaking to callers and considers rude behaviour to be inappropriate indicates that the system influences her. It seems that not knowing that she is been monitored also plays a role. The uncertainty keeps her alert so as to carry out her duties in the most effective way. She feels that she doesn't want to push people to take part in the research. Perhaps this is because she feels guilty for disturbing them. This guilt possibly derives from the way she has been raised in society..AM	
Character matters	I controlled myself not do or say something bad. I managed my anger because I didn't want to seem rude towards him. It is not my personality to be rude towards people. After all, we are asking for their help.(1:22) The information given by the interviewee shows that people manage themselves while working. They mostly manage the feeling of anger so as not to sound or appear negatively towards others. They attribute this behavious to their personal characteristics. They feel an obligation to behave in a polite way. Most probably this obligation is the result of their social upbringing. They have been taught in society to show respect and obedience towards people of higher power (e.g. parents, teachers, managers).AM	
Display appropriate image	I have to show a good image. I wish I could talk to the caller in the same way but I know that if a do it I will be fired. So, I have to remain calm. Knowing that my supervisor hears me, I control myself not to say something stupid. I mostly control my anger.(9:10) The interviewee's answer shows that the rudeness of callers mostly cause him to emotionally react. The fact that they call him names such as bothersome make him feel upset. He believes that the insults of callers force him to work according to the standards of the call centre. He is	

	concerned with presenting himself in a good way so as not to get fired. Because his supervisor listens to his calls he forces himself to remain calm. He controls feelings of anger in order not to be reprimanded by his supervisor.AM	
Socially accepted	The fact that you don't see the caller also plays a role. Afterwards, I tend to forget about the angry caller because I immediately accept another call. But what I usually do is that later I switch off the head set and discuss the incident with my colleagues. We joke about it.(8:22) The interviewee's answer shows that electronic monitoring does play a role in the way the person emotionally reacts. The fact that she controls herself when she is speaking to callers and considers rude behaviour to be inappropriate indicates that the system influences her. It seems that not knowing that she is been monitored also plays a role. The uncertainty keeps her alert so as to carry out her duties in the most effective way. She feels that she doesn't want to push people to take part in the research. Perhaps this is because she feels guilty for disturbing them. This guilt possibly derives from the way she has been raised in society. AM	
Don't want to be humiliated in front of others	Even though my supervisor is reprimanding somebody else, I feel intimidated and worried that she might tell me off as well. I try not to make the same mistake as my colleague. I would feel ashamed if she reprimanded me in front of everybody.(1:25) The information given by the interviewee shows that he is affected by what is happening to others around him. He feels afraid and worried that the same can happen to him. So, he is careful not to make the same mistakes. He would feel if ashamed if he was reprimanded in front of others. Probably because he doesn't want to let people down or been seen as a weakness. The way he has been brought up in society expects him to behave according to the norms. The norms in the call centre demand that his performance is always high. Anything below that is a loss. Even though he forgets about monitoring, through the reprimands he is reminded once again. This process makes him feel more alert and cautious. He is probably worried that if he doesn't follow the norms he will lose his job. AM	
Moral values	I think electronic monitoring plays a role. I keep things to myself. It is also a matter of politeness. Whatever they say to me I will not reply back to them in a bad way.(2:67) The information given by the interviewee shows that EPM plays a role in how the person expresses her feelings. EPM forces her to keep things to herself by being always polite. She hides her true emotions by not answering back to rude callers. She copes with the suppression of her feelings by expressing them to others. This suppression might be because of her personality characteristics or because of her social upbringing. The fact that she has electronic monitoring at the back of her mind shows that it is something that concerns her. Something that has caused her or somebody else in her surroundings to feel and remember something unique. AM	
Criticized by others	I prefer keeping it to myself. When I am home I speak more informally. I am not worried about other people making fun of me or criticising me. At work, however, I have to talk formally to my supervisors and callers.(9:29) The information given by the interviewee indicates that the employee is careful when speaking to callers. He doesn't want to react in a way which will seem inappropriate to his callers or supervisors. He manages himself when he gets upset, to the point that he oppresses his feelings. He believes that he is forced to act in front of others at work in order to meet their expectations. He doesn't want to express his real feelings by bursting out his anger but prefers to keep to himself his negative emotions. This is reinforced by the fact that at home he behaves in a different way than at work. At work he has to be always polite and show respect to others..AM	

Offended	If my supervisors hear me I will be in big trouble. Especially, now with the economic crisis things have become more uncertain and stressful. There are limited jobs out there. Also, if I was to shout back to the customer, I believe I would be the one who would be offended.(1:95) The interviewee's answer indicates that employees actually control their emotions. They control emotions such as fear and stress. They want to swear back to callers but something doesn't let them. They are afraid of losing their jobs. The economic crisis plays a role in this insecurity. The character of telephone agents is also important in understanding how they feel. This person has a "closed" personality which forces him to control more his emotions. He doesn't want to express his true self so that others will not see him in a negative way.AM	
Norms	When all of us (telephone agents) witnessed the incident we were surprised at the beginning but worried afterwards about not making the same mistake. This event made us more cautious and alert. I feel that using this management system makes me more disciplined.(1:129) The information given by the interviewee working under electronic monitoring shows that at emotions felt at the beginning are more intense. People are afraid of making mistakes; they are worried of losing their jobs. They feel surprised by the systems as well as the behaviour of their supervisors. However, after some time they get used to it and their intense emotions are reduced. Nevertheless, when their supervisors reprimand their colleagues in front of everybody their emotions once again are triggered. Employees are reminded about electronic monitoring and force themselves to control the way they feel and behave.AM	

Matrix 15. Qualitative matrix for Category: Responsibility and Accountability

Intermediate Category	**Quotes of the Intermediate category**	**Interpretation**
Feel responsible	I hide emotions that are considered impolite. I behave in a concentrated manner. I feel responsible for my own mistakes and try to correct them immediately. I don't want my supervisors and colleagues to notice. I try to keep mistakes to myself.(16:17) This answer demonstrates that EPM conditions individuals to correct and improve on their mistakes. This way the possibility for mistakes is significantly reduced. Agents are careful not to say or do something wrong. They control themselves not to be heard wrongly. They do this by hiding their emotions and eliminating behaviours that are considered by others as impolite. They work in a concentrated manner by keeping mistakes to themselves. They feel responsible for their performance and try to continuously improve it.AM	
Subcategory	**Quotes of the subcategory**	**Interpretation**
Obligation	Yes, I controlled myself not do or say something bad. I managed my anger because I didn't want to seem rude towards him. It is not my personality to be rude towards people. After all, we are asking for their help. We don't pay them anything. We don't even know who they are. We have an obligation to be polite to them. (1:22)	

	The information given by the interviewee shows that people manage themselves while working. They mostly manage the feeling of anger so as not to sound or appear negatively towards others. They attribute this behavious to their personal characteristics. They feel an obligation to behave in a polite way. Most probably this obligation is the result of their social upbringing. They have been taught in society to show respect and obedience towards people of higher power (e.g. parents, teachers, managers).AM	
Disappoint	If I make a mistake I feel that I will disappoint my colleagues and supervisors. I don't want this to happen. I have to constantly deal with things inside of me. I cannot explain it because it is a feeling which is deep in my mind.(15:107) This answer shows that individuals society plays a role in how people manage their emotions under EPM.. He doesn't realize that his conscience drives him to feel and act in specific ways. That is why he cannot explain what takes place within his mind. He has to satisfy the expectations of people within his environment. He doesn't want to disappoint people. He feels obligated to provide the things that his immediate environment expects from him. He has to constantly deal with emotions inside of him, so as to present himself more properly to others. AM	
Feel guilty	We don't even know who they are. We have an obligation to be polite to them. I often feel regret for disturbing them. You don't know who might be on the other line. Seventy to eighty per cent of the callers are older than me. So I have to show that I respect them.(10:67) The information given by the interviewee indicates that electronic monitoring does play a role in the way a person manages his verbal expression. A person may control his verbal communication because he has an obligation to be polite. The fact that the person feels regret and has to show respect to other people, indicates that his personality or character has been shaped by social norms. He has been taught by society to communicate suitably without offending superiors. AM	

	Very important
	Less important